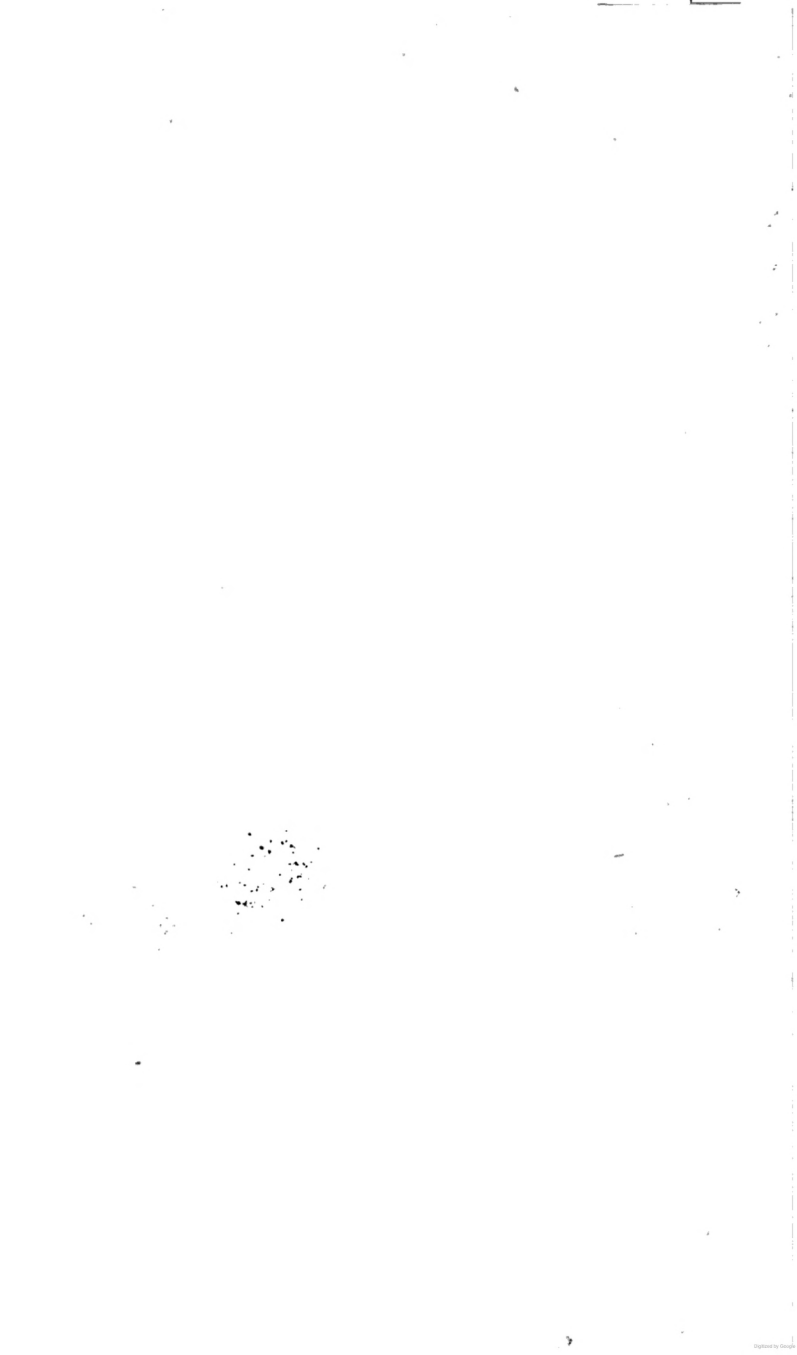






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ENGLAND AND ROME:

OR,

THE HISTORY OF THE RELIGIOUS CONNECTION
BETWEEN

England and the Holy See,

FROM THE YEAR 179, TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF
THE ANGLICAN REFORMATION IN 1534.

WITH

OBSERVATIONS ON THE GENERAL QUESTION OF THE

Supremacy of the Roman Pontiffs.

BY

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HEREFORD.



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TO
THE RIGHT REVEREND
THE LORD BISHOP OF NEWPORT AND MENEVIA

This Work

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S

OBLIGED AND GRATEFUL SERVANT,



THE AUTHOR.



PREFACE.

THE following pages will be found to contain an examination of several historical questions intimately connected with religion,—questions affecting the form of government originally introduced into the Church by the divine founder of Christianity, and the system of faith which the Britons and Saxons espoused, after they had overthrown the altars raised by their forefathers in honour of a multiplicity of gods: Belinus and Camulus, Thor, Woden, and Freya.

Recent occurrences have induced several writers of distinguished ability, to devote their time to a particular line of study which had been, for some time back, comparatively abandoned. These have once more brought before the public eye, documents bearing as well on St. Peter's mission, his power, and the seat of his Episcopate, as on the claims of the Roman Pontiff to the title of Successor of St. Peter, and to that headship in matters spiritual over the whole of Christendom which is, and has been, for so many centuries, conceded to him by at least three-fourths of the Christian world. They have gone further. They have tested the Supremacy of Rome by the belief and practices of the nations which successively possessed this country—the Britons, Saxons, Danes and Normans; and have presented to the public the following as the legitimate deductions derivable from the study of authentic

history. 1° St. Peter's visit to Rome is, according to them, more than problematical; whilst 2° it is plain that he never was Bishop of Rome; and 3° the theory of Peter's and the Roman Pontiff's supremacy is neither more nor less than nugatory: it is "*the greatest of historical delusions.*" Again, 4° So far from acknowledging the supremacy of the Holy See, the Briton utterly repudiated the idea of any such spiritual ascendancy; and if eventually the Saxon yielded submission to Rome and bowed before her power, this was done rather from a feeling of gratitude towards that Church which had been the first to send missionaries hither to convert the Idolater, than from any principle of faith, or from the belief that this submission was part and parcel of Christianity, an act of religion based on a dogma of faith essential in the profession of Catholicity.

But this investigation was conducted, and these statements were made, at a period of great excitement; and such times are not certainly favourable either to a careful study of facts, or to a patient analysis of evidence. Then history is only consulted for an end, and that end is the vindication of some notion which likely enough has grown with one's growth and strengthened with one's strength. Men are not then without a bias: they enter upon their task prepossessed in favour of their own system; and the motive in fact for studying and writing is to convince others that their opinions are correct. Who will wonder if at such times preconceived opinions assume an importance which they do not merit, and are supported by evidence, which to those of less excited feelings, must appear anything but conclusive? What Ovid says of the requisites for the composition of verse, will be found quite

applicable to the acquisition of exact historical knowledge. This study requires both leisure and quiet, and if either be wanting, knowledge will be defective, and inferences will be unfair.

Mine has been the task, to study the writings of early history; to gather together and compare attentively, and, as I trust dispassionately, whatever has been written by the leading men of former ages relative to the See and power of blessed Peter, the dignity of the Pontiffs of Rome, and the position which the Church in this country has held in relation to Rome, from the earliest period of its conversion down to the 30th of March of the year 1534. Nor is this all. I have not limited my attention to books. Whatever monuments exist confirmatory of any position under investigation, these have been examined carefully; for from them, as well as from written instruments, may the faith of former ages be distinctly ascertained. These evidences I have placed before the reader faithfully and fully, and in sufficient numbers to satisfy the impartial as to the real matter of fact under examination. In support of each proposition which will be examined during the course of the work, will be found ranged those authors of the earliest periods of Christian history, who have ever been esteemed for talent, truthfulness, and orthodoxy.

The conclusions I have adopted, are throughout diametrically opposed to those of the modern school of history to which I have just referred; but this should not cause surprise. For 1° as is obvious to every one acquainted with their writings, their investigations were conducted in a very partial and uncritical manner. No chain of evidence was produced; hardly anything positive was noticed; a

doubtful expression was construed into a denial, and an omission was held up as sufficient evidence of a Father's disbelief of that about which he had failed to write.

Such a system of investigation, if the course pursued be deserving of such a name, is highly unsatisfactory; it is simply conjectural or accusatory; it is destructive, not constructive, and as such is utterly worthless. Doubtful expressions must be explained by the faith of the times; and silence on any dogma or practice can only then be fairly construed into an argument, when the writer either proposed to treat of all the tenets and practices of religion, or was obliged to refer to some particular doctrines, had such doctrines been really believed, owing to the circumstances of the period in which he wrote.

Phraseology has often a *local*, and still oftener a temporary signification. To understand, consequently, particular phrases or words, we ought to be thoroughly acquainted with circumstances, and with the avowed belief of former ages; without this attention or study we shall assuredly fail in apprehending the proper signification of important expressions, and shall in vain endeavour to understand aright the meaning of the apologists of Christianity, and those other writers who so nobly vindicated the faith of former ages. These early writers had to explain new doctrines, doctrines not unfrequently involving something deeply mysterious, and to develope new proofs in reference to morality or faith; and to do this, it was found requisite to affix new meanings to old phrases; to use indeed words familiar to the people, but unheard of in the sense in which they were applied. *Χαρις* and *gratia*, *πατήρ* and *pater*, *οἰος* and *filius*, *ἀντίλυτρον* and *redemptio*, *πρωτεῖον* and *principalitas*, *δίκαιος* and *justus*, had often been respectively

used, prior to the introduction of Christianity, in Greece and Italy; they were familiar to every one. But how different was the *χρησις* of the Christian from the *χρησις* of the pagan; how different the meaning which the Roman of the Forum and the Roman of the Vatican attached to the *justus* of their respective times. Uninstructed in the mysteries of Christianity, the pagans could not understand what the Christian meant by the words, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; nor was reference to the redemption of mankind a wit more intelligible to them. To understand the language of Christianity, it was requisite, as it still is, to understand the doctrines of Christianity: and this fact should be distinctly remembered, whilst either the pages of the inspired writings, or the pages of the Fathers and historians of the Church, are being referred to. Unfortunately it is too often forgotten. Men fancy that a knowledge of the language of paganism is quite enough for a right understanding of the language of Christianity; but the inaccuracy of this supposition must be evident from the few observations already made.

To those who are disposed to draw adverse conclusions from the silence of some of the earlier writers of the Church, I would make this observation: the fathers were rather engaged in strengthening the foundations, and establishing the evidences and leading mysteries of Christianity, than in defending its outworks. Theirs was the task to establish the unity of God, and the divinity of Christ, and to vindicate religion against the heavy and unjust charges which were urged against it by the learned and powerful advocates of paganism; and all things considered, it is nothing less than wonderful that they have referred so often and so distinctly to so many of the

doctrines and practices of the Church. As long as no one doctrine of Christianity is denied, so long have we nothing to fear from that silence which Protestants are at times disposed to make so much of. This can be said without the danger of contradiction, in reference to the main questions at issue connected with this work. 1° Not one ancient writer asserts that St. Peter had never been at Rome. 2° Nor was it ever asserted that he was not Bishop of Rome. Nor 3° is it ever stated by any orthodox writer, that he did not possess that superiority which the Catholic Church of the present day concedes to him. Nor 4° was any one ever rash enough to say that the Bishop of Rome was not St. Peter's successor, and that he was not possessed of a primacy of jurisdiction. Those who would lay much stress on the point of silence, would do well to consider on what matters the Fathers really were silent.

2° From an indignant observation, in a moment of exasperation, or from an act which may be, as far as evidence goes, only an act of unwarrantable disobedience, conclusions have been, and are still drawn unfavourable to the Holy See, and the actual faith of the Catholic world in the supremacy of the Papacy. Obviously, this is as foolish as it is unfair. When men are thwarted, expressions are frequently made use of by them, which, in their calmer moments, they would be sorry for; they then speak rather to justify themselves and free themselves from unpleasant consequences, than to uphold any dogmatical or moral principle. Self is always an interested client; and in defence of self, unworthy expressions are not unfrequently used now: similar expressions were adopted too in former ages. To judge fairly of the belief

and principles even of the refractory, consideration must be had of the circumstances in which they were placed, and of the objects which they had in view ; but especially of the principles advocated uniformly in moments of lesser excitement, and of that religious connection which bound together the complainants and others over whose orthodoxy no suspicion has been cast. As I have likewise observed in the body of this work, even disobedience itself by no means necessarily involves the denial of *authority* ; it proves indeed a waywardness, a stubbornness, a sinfulness, a determination to refuse submission, an abuse of a great moral principle : this it proves, but nothing more. This is readily seen in the case of refractory subjects or children : these may, these often do refuse obedience ; but does it thence follow, that the *obligation* of obeying is denied, or that another's rights are *theoretically* repudiated and absolutely disallowed ?

3° Disciplinary differences have also been made the basis for the superstructure of an independent British Church. The British Church differed, it is said, at the period of Augustine's coming hither to evangelize the Saxon, from the Church of Rome, as to the time of the celebration of the Paschal festivities ; *therefore*, it is evident, that the Britons did not yield obedience to Rome, did not receive from Rome those laws by which the principal feast of the Church was regulated. It is difficult to form an argument for the enemies of the Church out of the premises. As is obvious from what has been said, this mode of arguing is self-destructive : it depends for its very existence on a principle, which, as we have just seen, is absolutely untenable.

That Britain did keep Easter once with Rome, is obvious

from the letter addressed by the British and other prelates to the Roman Pontiff, ten years or more before the celebration of the Council of Nice in 325. This letter will be laid before the reader in the body of the work. 2° As the celebrated editor of Venerable Bede's Ecclesiastical History, Dr. Smith, observes, "Those greatly err, who imagine that the Britons were taught the Paschal rite by the Orientals, and not by the Roman and Western Church. For Constantine distinctly states, in a letter written by him on this very matter, that the Paschal festival was used to be celebrated in the same way in Britain as at Rome."¹ Now 3° Do we know whence the difference proceeded, for assuredly the time of keeping Easter was not the same at Rome and in Britain when Augustine reached our shores? We do. As the reader will see, for a considerable time, Britain, as well as the continent, was in a very tumultuous condition: the continent was troubled by the incursions of hordes of barbarians; and Picts and Scots and Saxons harrassed this land for a very lengthened period. The result was, that when, in the middle of the sixth century, a more correct mode of calculating the Easter term was adopted by Rome, Britain could not be apprised of the alteration. This is the reason assigned by V. Bede, and this reason adequately explains the causes of existing differences.²

Difficulties of this character may indeed puzzle the cursory reader, but they cannot convince him; they may

¹ "Notandum est illos, vehementer errare, qui putant Britannos, non a Romanis occidentalibus, sed ab Orientalibus, ritum Paschatis edoctos. Diserte enim testatur Constantinus in epistola quam de hac re scripsit, eodem modo ac Romæ, in Britannia pascha celebrari solitum."—*Smith, in append ix, ad Bedam*, p. 696.

² V. Bede, l. iii, c. iv.

fill his mind with doubts, but they cannot calm it; they may gain the end which Voltaire attained, by citing the inspired volume, they may make him a sceptic, but they cannot make him a better man or a more devoted Christian. I will not pursue such a course. To raise difficulties when facts are plain—to amuse one's-self with a negative when a positive is obvious, is surely to trifle with learning; it is a worthless attempt to substitute romance and fiction for history and fact.

I trust that the following pages will be read with the attention which the subject treated of deserves and requires. Of historical questions there can be none more interesting than these to the believer in Christianity: 1° Where was Peter's See? 2° Where did this great Apostle end his mortal career? 3° What was the extent of his jurisdiction? and 4° Who are the heirs of his See, and of his power, in case this See has been preserved, and it was the will of Christ to perpetuate the power conferred on Cephas? But if we view these questions in connexion with religion they assume an absorbing importance. For if there be one placed over the Church by Christ, and the Roman Pontiff be that one, then is it requisite to reverence and obey, and not to declaim against and oppose the venerable Bishop of Rome.

In speaking then of the power of the Pope, we treat of a question of the greatest importance: and if the venerable Cardinal Bellarmine makes use of the emphatic words, "*agitur de summa rei Christianæ*," in reference to this point, no one will wonder at them. The Popes appear at every turn in the history of the last eighteen hundred years: "them first, them last, them midst, them without end." Without them Christianity is a dead and buried

system; with them it is active, energetic, vivifying. The Popes are to be found at every turn for the first three hundred years of Christianity, defending, upholding, dying for the faith; afterwards they appear as writers, preachers, evangelizers: sending forth missionaries into every quarter of the world, convening councils, condemning heretics, ratifying truth, comforting the good, confronting the bad, establishing laws useful to religion, and spreading far and wide with the light of the Gospel, the light of civilization, and a love for science and for knowledge in all its beauteous forms. It behoves us then to know, who are the Popes, and what is their real character; what they have been in relation to the former possessors of this land, and what they should be to Englishmen at the present day. The elucidation of these matters is the object of the following pages.

HEREFORD,

January 1st, 1854.

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ERRATA.

- Page 48, last line, for *terminantione*, read *terminatione*.
 „ 178, third last line, for *Polydore, Virgil*, read *Polydore Virgil*.
 „ 223, for *Sigic, Sirig*, read *Siric* (bis).
 „ 226, sixth line from top, for *laies*, read *laics*.

ENGLAND AND ROME.

Chapter the First.

CONTENTS.

Statements relative to St. Peter and the Popes to be examined in this work—Necessity of this examination at the present period—Who first denied St. Peter's visit to Rome—Occasion of the denial—Repeated by some heretics, but successfully combated by Catholic and anti-Catholic writers of celebrity.—Proofs of St. Peter's visit to Rome from the Fathers of the first five centuries—Reason assigned for this visit.—Simon Magus—His character—Neander's observations regarding him refuted.—Local proofs of St. Peter's visit to Rome—The Tullian or Mamertine prison—House of Pudens—Altar—Chains—Place of martyrdom—Tomb—Church called Domine quò vadis—Argument derived from St. Peter's Epistle written at Babylon—Burton's acknowledgment—Döllinger's reconciliation of scripture and chronology—Arguments against St. Peter's visit, mainly resultant from an ignorance of the state of the question—Conclusion.

An examination of the following propositions has become in some degree necessary, owing to the calamity of the times. 1° Was St. Peter, the Apostle of Jesus Christ, ever at Rome. 2° Was he, moreover, Bishop of Rome. 3° Further, was he head of the Universal Church, and has he been distinctly acknowledged as such by the

Propositions
to be eluci-
dated.

Catholic world. 4° Are the Roman Pontiffs Peter's successors in the Roman See, and heirs of that Spiritual Supremacy which he derived from Christ. 5° Is communion with Rome so essential to Church membership, that without it no individual or local Church can be allowed to belong to that *one, holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church* of the Nicene Creed, in which Protestants as well as Catholics profess, at least in words, an unhesitating belief. 6° Were the Britons, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, subject to the Holy See; in other words, was the Church in England a dependent Church, a member of the Catholic Church, of which the Roman Pontiff was the recognized head. These and cognate matters have been recently

Their denial.

denied. They have been denied frequently and confidently, and Catholics have been challenged to the proof. Silence under circumstances, would entail a double inconvenience: it would be construed by the enemies of Catholicity into an inability to reply, and thus previous errors and misconceptions would be strengthened, whilst it would deprive others, who are favourably disposed towards us, and both willing and eager to study our defence, of those ready means of information which we are, undoubtedly, able to supply.

*Origin of
the present
work.*

As after some violent outbreak of heresy, the Church vindicates the sacred deposit of faith committed to her care, by her anathemas, and exhibits the truths of religion in a clearer light than ever, by means of fresh expositions, canons and decrees; so when opposition, on a smaller scale, to the truths of religion has so far ceased, as to justify the supposition that argument will be listened to, it is fitting that the members of the Church endeavour, according to their ability, to defend the sacred character

of religion, and to assert vigorously and firmly the cause of truth.

It is not then, strictly speaking, with the object of The object in view. laying before the public new arguments, that I enter on my present undertaking. Indeed, to speak plainly, novelty is at the best, a very secondary consideration. My object rather is, to enable others to arrive at truth; and whether this be attained by the circulation of old or the discovery of new proofs, is to me, as it was to St. Augustine, a matter of perfect indifference.¹

Before the fourteenth century, no one, however hostile Marsilius the first to deny St. Peter's sojourn at Rome. to Catholicity, or to the Holy See, had ever ventured on the denial of St. Peter's sojourn in the city of the Cæsars. The honor of such a denial—if honor it be—was reserved for Marsilius of Padua. Espousing in opposition to the Pontiff John XXII the cause of Louis, Duke of Bavaria, who claimed, on the death of Henry VII, the Bavarian crown, to the exclusion of Frederic, son of Albert the First of Austria, Marsilius offered every kind of indignity to the Holy See. In the height of his exacer- Cause of the denial. bation, he proceeded to such lengths as to deny all connexion of St. Peter with Rome. Peter, he said, had never been at Rome; then John, who claimed the supremacy over the Catholic world, as the successor of Peter, the first Bishop of Rome, claimed that supremacy without grounds: he was not the supreme Pontiff. Errors against history were followed by errors against faith; and false premises became the basis of falser conclusions. This cry of Marsilius was eventually adopted by several here-

¹ "Utile est plures (libros) a pluribus fieri diverso stylo non diversa fide, ut ad plurimos res ipsa perveniat, ad alios sic, ad alios autem sic."—*S. Aug. de Trinit.* l. i, c. 5.

Other deniers.

siarchs: it was the cry of Wickliffe and of Luther; and though Calvin was too wily to risk his character for learning by becoming the echo of the German reformer, he hardly allowed that St. Peter had been at Rome: "There is nothing repugnant in the statement," was the extent of his admission.¹

Catholic and Protestant vindications of historic truth.

Since the days of Calvin the negative has been frequently maintained, and sometimes too by persons of considerable ability; but greater and more learned men of nearly every creed and country, have ever zealously vindicated the credit of former history; and by these frequent vindications, the fact of St. Peter's residence at Rome has been established on a firmer basis than nearly any other circumstance of merely personal or local interest. Cave, Pearson, Whiston, Baratier, Young, and Blondel, all authors of eminence and opposed to the supremacy of the Pontiffs, have as strenuously opposed the system of Marsilius, as Baronius and Pagi,² Panvinio³ and Schelstrate,⁴ Mammachi and Selvaggio,⁵ Sandini,⁶ Calmet,⁷ Foggini and Döllinger, all learned writers of the Catholic party.⁸

To render the elucidation of my proposition relative to

¹ "Propter Scriptorum consensum *non repugnat*, quin Petrus Romæ mortuus fuerit etsi Episcopum fuisse, præsertim longo tempore, persuaderi nequeat."—*Calvinus*, l. iv. Instit. c. vi, par. 15. See also the preceding paragraphs, 13-14.

² See Baronius and Pagi in *Annal*: ad ann. 42.

³ De adventu Petri ad urbem Romam apud Raccoberti, tom. xvii.

⁴ *Antiq. Illustr.* t. ii, diss. iii, c. 1-2.

⁵ *Antiq. Christ.* vol. i, p. 26 et seq.

⁶ *Vitæ Pontif. Rom.* vol. i, p. 4.

⁷ *Comm. in Bib. t. viii, de Itinere Romano.*

⁸ Even Beausobre and Lenfant say, that, though several learned persons have maintained that St. Peter never was at Rome, "il vaut mieux s'en tenir ladessus, au consentement unanime de toute l'antiquité chrétienne." See *Pref sur la i. Epître de S. Pierre*, ii, 530.

St. Peter's sojourn in Rome as clear as possible, I will divide my argument into several distinct heads. I will adduce in the first place the testimony of the leading writers of the four or five first centuries, who have left us a record of the tradition of their times relative to St. Peter; 2° I will assign the cause, or at least one of the causes, which is said to have drawn the great Apostle Romewards; and 3° Some facts of a local character, all tending to the establishment of the same truth, and which can only be explained on the assumption of St. Peter's residence in Rome, will be prominently brought before the reader. We shall not, assuredly, as Cave well observes, sail against the stream of authority, whilst we maintain our proposition; for if one fact of history be affirmed continuously it is this of St. Peter's residence at Rome. Reject it, as some have recently done, and you must allow that history is a mighty conspiracy against truth: you have no alternative. You must become sceptics, and adopt pyrrhonism in all its latitude.

I shall now proceed to adduce the evidence already alluded to. In the following words, Eusebius refers to the testification of Papias and Clement of Alexandria, both of whom lived in the second century:—

“Under the reign of Claudius, by the benign and gracious providence of God, Peter, that powerful and great Apostle, who by his courage took the lead of all the rest, was conducted to Rome against this pest of mankind (Simon Magus). He as a noble General (appointed) of God, armed with heavenly weapons, brought the precious merchandize of intellectual light from the East to the dwellers in the West, announcing the light itself, and salutary doctrine of the soul, the proclamation of the

Mode of
proof,
adopted.

The Fathers
believed,
that St. Peter
had sojourn-
ed at Rome.

Papias.

Kingdom of God. The divine word having been thus established among the Romans, the power of Simon was soon extinguished and destroyed, together with the man. So greatly however did the splendour of piety enlighten the minds of Peter's hearers, that it was not sufficient to hear but once, nor to receive the unwritten doctrine of the Gospel of God, but *THEY persevered in every variety of entreaties, to solicit Mark, as the companion of Peter*, and whose Gospel we have, that he should leave them a monument of the doctrine, thus orally communicated, in writing. Nor did they cease their solicitations until they had prevailed with the man, and thus become the means of that history, which is called the Gospel according to Mark. They say also, that the Apostle (Peter) having ascertained what was done by the revelation of the Spirit, was delighted with the zealous ardour expressed by these men, and that the history obtained his authority for the purpose of being read in the Churches. This account is given by Clement in the sixth book of his institutions, whose testimony is corroborated by that of PAPIAS, *Bishop of Hieropolis*." Apud *Eusebium*, l. ii, c. 14-15, p. 52-3. Ed. 1851.

Clement.

The character of Papias, as given by himself.

The Papias here spoken of flourished about the year 118. Whether or not he was the disciple of the Apostle St. John, and the friend of St. Polycarp, is very problematical. What we know of him for certain, is this: he was most assiduous in collecting all kinds of facts regarding the Apostles, from those who had been intimately acquainted with them. "If," he says, "I met with any one who had been a follower of the elders anywhere, I made it a point to enquire, what were the declarations of the elders. What was said by Andrew, Peter, or Philip,

What by Thomas, James, John, Matthew, or any other of the disciples of our Lord. What was said by Aristion and the presbyter John, disciples of the Lord; for I do not think that I derived so much benefit from books as from the living voice of those that are still surviving.”—*Papias* apud *Eus.* l. iii, c. 39, p. 113-4. Ed. 1851. And this evidence of Papias which certain writers in newspapers have endeavoured by the most foolish but *not new* criticism to invalidate, is admitted by Cave and every other really learned scholar, to be absolutely conclusive. *Cave*, vol. ii, p. 46.

This same century supplies us with three other ecclesiastical writers, who have referred to the residence of St. Peter at Rome. *CAIUS*, who visited Rome during the Pontificate of Zephyrinus,¹ thus refers in his disputation with Proclus to the tombs of the Apostles Peter and Paul. “I can shew you the trophies of the Apostles; for if you will go to the Vatican or to the Ostian Road, you will find the trophies of those who have laid the foundation of this (the Roman) Church.”—*Caius* apud *Eus.* l. ii, c. 25, p. 69. And the illustrious prelate *St. Dionysius of Corinth*,² in his address to the Romans, speaking of the martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul, says: “Thus, likewise, you by means of this admonition, have mingled the flourishing seed that had been planted by Peter and Paul AT ROME and Corinth. For both of these having planted us at Corinth, likewise instructed us; and having in like manner taught in Italy, they suffered martyrdom about the same time.”—*Apud Eus.* l. ii, c. 25, p. 69.

The testimony of Caius,

and of Denis of Corinth.

ST. IRENÆUS, a more learned writer than any of those

¹ S. Hieron. Catal. c. 59.

² He became Bishop in 170. See Eusebius Chron. ad. ann. xi, M. Aurelii.

Irenæus.

hitherto cited, and who was born about the middle of the second century, presents us with the following testimonies connected with the point in hand:—"Matthew produced his Gospel, written among the Hebrews in their own dialect, whilst Peter and Paul proclaimed the Gospel and founded the Church at Rome."—*Apud Eus.* l. v, c. 8, p. 175. He repeats this testimony in his famous work *Against Heresies* in the following terms: "But as it would be a very long task, to enumerate in such a volume as this, the successions of all the Churches, pointing out that tradition which the *greatest* and most *ancient*, and

The universally known Church of Rome, founded by SS. Peter and Paul.

UNIVERSALLY KNOWN Church—founded and constituted AT ROME, BY THE TWO MOST GLORIOUS APOSTLES, PETER AND PAUL—derives from the Apostles, and that faith announced to all men, which through the succession of (her) Bishops has come down to us, we confound all those, who in any way assemble otherwise than as behoveth them."—*Adv. Hær.* l. iii, c. 3, n. 2. The establishment of the Church of Rome through the ministry of Peter and Paul is spoken of here again as a fact, beyond question. That Church was most universally known; its origin was best investigated and established; and this is the result of the investigation—Peter had been at Rome, and had founded the Church there.

Tertullian's challenge.

The *third* century offers us the voluminous writings of the first African ecclesiastical writer, Tertullian. Over and over again he refers to St. Peter's founding the Roman Church and dying there. "Come now, thou who wilt exercise thy curiosity to better purpose, run over the Apostolic Churches, in which the very chairs of the Apostles, to this very time, preside over their own places; in which their own authentic letters are read, echoing the

voice and making the face of each present. Is Achia near thee?—thou hast Corinth. If thou art not far from Macedonia, thou hast Philippi, thou hast the Thessalonians. If thou canst travel into Asia, thou hast Ephesus. But if thou art near Italy, thou hast Rome, whence an authority is ready at hand to us. Oh how happy is that Church, in which the Apostles have poured out all their doctrine with their blood; WHERE PETER HAD A LIKE PASSION WITH HIS LORD; where Paul is crowned with an end like the Baptist; where the Apostle John was plunged into boiling oil, &c.”—*De Præs.* n. 35-6. In his work entitled *Scorpiace*, c. v, as also in his writings against Mercion, l. iv, c. 5, he refers to the planting of the faith, and the death of St. Peter at Rome. He like all the foregoing authorities speaks confidently; his words evidently regard an acknowledged fact: not a thing to be proved, but a matter of public notoriety.

Origen has left us the tradition of his and former times relative to the countries assigned to each of the Apostles, for the work of the ministry. Speaking of St. Peter, he observes: “Peter appears to have preached through Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia and Asia, to the Jews that were scattered abroad; who also, *finally coming to Rome*, was crucified with his head downward, himself having requested to suffer in that way.”—*Apud Eus. H. E.* l. iii, c. 1. This account is given by Origen, in the third book of his *Exposition of Genesis*.

Origen on the place and mode of St. Peter's death.

The Christian Cicero, LACTANTIUS, in his work on the *Death of the Persecutors*, and also in his fourth book on *True Wisdom*, c. 21, agrees with the preceding writers. I will translate his observations in the first named work: “When Nero reigned, PETER CAME TO ROME, and having

Lactantius
on the cause
of St. Peter's
death, by
Nero.

wrought some miracles which he effected by the might of the Almighty, power to this effect being given to him by Him, he converted many to justice, and raised up to God a faithful and enduring temple. When Nero was informed of this, and he saw that not only at Rome, but every where, a great multitude, day by day abandoned the worship of idols, and passed over to the new religion to the rejection of the ancient one, being as he was an execrable and guilty tyrant, he rushed forward to destroy the heavenly temple, and the first of all others persecuting the servants of God, he affixed Peter to a cross, and Paul he slew."—*De Morte Persec.* c. ii, p. 523.

We have already adduced under the heading *Papias*, Eusebius' sentiments with regard to St. Peter's visit to Rome. He repeats the same remarks, not once or twice, but several times; and he repeats them in such a way, as to convince the reader that what he says was universally accredited. See *Eus. H. E.* l. iii, c. xiv, xv, xvii, xxv, &c. We shall have occasion to adduce his authority again, at a later stage of this examination.

St. Peter of
Alex.

ST. PETER OF ALEXANDRIA, who died for his faith in 311, after having governed the See of Alexandria for eleven years, speaks of the Prince of the Apostles in the following terms: "Peter the ruler (*ὁ πρῶνπιτος*) of the Apostles, after being often seized, imprisoned, and ignominiously treated, was at length crucified AT ROME."—*Apud Galland.* t. iv, p. 98.

Donatists
did not deny
that St. Peter
had been at
Rome.

The brilliant and energetic St. OPTATUS OF MELEVIS, defies even the Donatists, the worst and most daring enemies of the Church, to deny that St. Peter had been at Rome. "Thou canst not then deny, that thou knowest that the Episcopal Chair was given in the city of Rome,

to Peter the first of all others, in which Peter the head of all the Apostles sat. . . . Peter therefore first filled that preeminent (unicam) chair, which is the first mark of the Church ; to him succeeded Linus, &c.”—*De Schis. Don.* l. ii, n. 2-4.

St. JEROME, who was well acquainted with the history of the Church of Rome, having resided there for a long while and acted as secretary to one of the Pontiffs, Pope Damasus, thus mentions St. Peter in his *Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers*. “Simon Peter, the son of John, of the province of Galilee, from the village of Bethsaida, the brother of Andrew the Apostle, and the Prince of the Apostles, after his Episcopate in the Church of Antioch, and his preaching to those scattered about of the circumcision, who had believed, in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, GOES TO ROME in the second year of Claudius, to overthrow Simon Magus, and there he held the Sacerdotal Chair for five-and-twenty years, down to the last, that is, the fourteenth year of Nero. Buried at Rome in the Vatican, near the Triumphal way, he is honored by the veneration of the whole city.” From Rome, the centre of Christianity, the news soon spread over the world, relative to the spot where St. Peter’s body lay. The belief then of the Christians of the fourth century was this: that St. Peter lived, and died, and was buried at Rome: the belief of the nineteenth century is precisely the same. During the long interval of more than fourteen hundred and sixty years, the tradition has not varied for a second!

St. Jerome.

St. Peter,
Bishop of
Rome for 25
years.

St. Jerome’s opponent too, RUFINUS, is as clear on this head as any other writer. “Peter,” he says, “ruled the

Rufinus.

Roman Church for twenty-four years.”—L. ii, *invect. in S. Hier.* t. ii, p. 661. *opp. S. Hier.* And

St. Austin. St. AUSTIN, as every scholar knows, constantly appeals to the authority of that Chair at Rome, in which Peter sat. “Nay,” he says, in his work against the letters of Petilian, “if all throughout the whole world were such as you most idly slander them, what has the Chair of the *Roman Church in which Peter sat, and in which Anastasius now sits, done to thee?*”—T. ix, l. ii, n. 118.

St. Chrysostom. The East knew as well as the West of Peter’s journeying to Rome. The Christians of Antioch pointed with pride to St. Peter as the founder of their illustrious See; but they were forced to admit that Antioch could not keep for ever the Prince of the Apostles as its Bishop. “This,” says ST. CHRYSOSTOM, “is one privilege of this our city (Antioch), that it had at first, as teacher, the leader of the Apostles. For it was befitting that that city which, before the rest of the world, was crowned with the Christian name, should receive as Shepherd the first of the Apostles. but after having had him as *our* teacher, we did not retain him, *but surrendered him to regal Rome.*”—T. iii, *Hom. ii, in Inscr. Act.* No. 6.

Rome possessed of the tomb of Peter. “*It* (Rome) contains within it,” says THEODORET, another Eastern prelate, “the tombs of our common fathers and teachers of the truth, Peter and Paul—tombs which illuminate the souls of the faithful. Their thrice-blessed and divine twin star rose indeed in the East, but had the setting of its existence, by choice, *in the West*, and thence even now illumines the world. These have made your throne most illustrious; this is the culminating point to your blessings. And their God has even now made

illustrious *their throne*, having established therein your holiness emitting the rays of orthodoxy."—T. iv, *Ep.* cxiii, *Leoni*. This letter was addressed to Pope Leo: every expression and allusion obviously regards the unvarying tradition of St. Peter's preaching and dying at Rome.

Pope INNOCENT's words would seem to be at first sight nearly a transcript of those of St. Chrysostom, which we have just adduced "Observe," he says, "that this (privilege) has been assigned to this city (Antioch), not so much on account of its magnificence, as because it is known to have been the first See of the first Apostle, where the Christian faith took its name, and has had the honor to have held within it a most celebrated assembly of the Apostles. A city which would not yield to the See of the city of Rome, save that it (Antioch) was honored by him but temporarily; whereas *this city (Rome) glories in having received him to herself*, and that he here consummated (his martyrdom)."—*Ep.* xxiv, n. 1, p. 584.

At Rome,
St. Peter is
martyred.

With the testimony of another Pontiff, I will draw this first part of my proof to a close. Pope GELASIUS, thus clearly and elegantly expresses himself relative to the Prince of the Apostles. "There were assuredly twelve Apostles, endowed with equal merits and equal dignity; and whereas they all shone equally with spiritual light, yet it was Christ's will that one amongst them should be the chief; and him by an admirable dispensation, did he guide to Rome, the queen of nations, that in the principal or first city, he might direct that first and principal (Apostle) Peter."—T. x, *Galland*. p. 677.

Peter guided
to Rome, by
Christ.

II. As I have already stated, one of the causes of St. Peter's journeying to Rome is frequently referred to by

the fathers of the Church. The cause is a curious one ; and since it materially helps to establish and confirm a truth, on which the East and West, Greece and Italy, Africa and Gaul, have alike pronounced, namely, the arrival of St. Peter at Rome, I will treat of it more in detail than any author of this country has, to my knowledge at least, hitherto done. Circumstances have rendered such developments, if not necessary, at all events very useful.

Direct cause
of St. Peter's
journey to
Rome.

According to Eusebius, St. Jerome, and Orosius, St. Peter visited Rome for the first time in the second year of Claudius, which year corresponds with the 42 of the Christian era ; and he went thither, if we may credit the statements of Eusebius and St. Jerome, in order to silence the heresiarch, Simon Magus. "Immediately under the reign of Claudius, . . . Peter, the powerful and great Apostle . . . was conducted to Rome against this pest of mankind,—(*Simon Magus*)" l. ii, c. xiv.

Simon Ma-
gus over-
thrown by
St. Peter.

Having given St. Jerome's declaration at page 11, I shall content myself with the following few additional observations taken from the writings of this Father. "Simon the son of John, . . . the brother of Andrew the Apostle, and the Prince of the Apostles, goes to Rome in the second year of Claudius, to overthrow Simon Magus."—*Catal. Script. Eccles.* § 1. Of this infamous man, Magus, *St. Justin*¹ makes distinct and detailed mention in his *first apology*, addressed to Antoninus Pius. We are told that he was a Samaritan, of the village of Gitton, was versed in magic, and was so successful in the practice of his art, as to become at first the wonder and glory of the Romans, and eventually the object of their adoration. He informs us further, *when* this man flourished, *where* his statue was

¹ Apol. i, c. xxxiv, and lxxiii-iv.

raised, what inscription it bore, and the name, sex, and character of his principal companion.² In addition to this he exhorts the Emperor to communicate these particulars to the senate and people, in order that, "if any of them should chance to be entangled by the doctrines of Magus, they might at length free themselves from the trammels of error;" and finally he prays, "that the statue raised to the impostor, may be taken down." With equal distinctness TERTULLIAN³ likewise alludes to the heresiarch; and he scathes with the fires of his burning eloquence those Romans, who adored such a worthless man. VINCENT OF LERINS also, in his far-famed COMMONITORY, refers to the overthrow of Magus, who has been emphatically called by the Fathers, "the parent of heresies." "Was not Simon Magus the first so deservedly smitten by the Apostolic sword. . . . was not this conjuror, I say, the first who had the face to charge God the Creator as the author of all evil."⁴ We will now pass from these somewhat general statements relative to the magician, to the examination of those particular facts which connect him and St. Peter more immediately.

Character of Magus, as drawn by the Apologists of Christianity.

His errors.

Arnobius wrote his apology either at the close of the third, or as early in the fourth century as the year 303. In the second book of this work the following words occur. "Though men were engaged by the arts of king Numa and the ancient superstitions in this city (Rome), still they did not hesitate about abandoning the concerns of their country, and uniting in the admission of Christian truth. For they beheld the car of Simon Magus and his fiery

² He went to Rome in the time of Claudius. His statue, which bore the inscription, "Simoni Deo Sancto," was erected on the Tiber between the two bridges; and his companion was an abandoned woman, of the name of Helena.

³ Apol. c. xiii, p. 225.

⁴ Common. c. xxx.

steeds blown away by the breath of Peter, and brought to nothing at the name of Christ."

Even Catechumens were told of Magus' overthrow by St. Peter.

About this event, even the Catechumens were instructed, as is evident from the sixth catechetical address of ST. CYRIL OF JERUSALEM. He tells them that when "the error of Simon was spreading farther and farther, the illustrious pair of men, Peter and Paul, the rulers of the Church, corrected it by going *thither*, who suddenly exhibited as dead, Simon, the putative God, on his appearance. For when Simon had declared that he would ascend aloft into heaven . . . the servants of God . . . cast him headlong on the earth. . . ." he adds, "and though this occurrence was wonderful in itself, it was not wonderful under circumstances; for it was Peter who did it, he who bears with him the keys of heaven. It is not worth our wonder, for it was Paul who did it, he who was caught up into the third heaven."—c. xv. As to the main fact, St. Cyril is as clear as any writer; he testifies to the circulation in the East of the report of the magician's defeat at Rome by St. Peter. In one respect he differs from the writers previously cited; but this difference does not affect in the slightest degree the substance of the history. He supposes, nor was Cyril singular in this respect, that the event occurred, not in the time of Claudius, but of Nero, for before Nero's reign St. Paul had not visited Rome.

THE LEGATES OF THE HOLY SEE, in a letter to Eusebius of Vercelli, make mention too of this event. "For the Lord and His Christ know, that as on the arrival of the most blessed Apostles, the name of God is glorified in the overthrow of Simon; so, &c."

ST. PACIAN thus plainly refers to this well known story. "Does not Peter confound Simon in the presence of the

judge; does not Paul blind Elymas.”—*Epist. ii, ad Symbronianum*.

EPIPHANIUS, when writing on the heresy of the Simonians, refers to the occurrence in the following words: “Simon, we know, paid the debt of nature at Rome, where falling he dies miserably in the midst of the city of the Romans.”—*Hæc. xxi. c. 5*.

ST. AMBROSE, in the work entitled *Egesippus*, which he wrote while still young and a Catechumen, enters into greater detail. He tells us that “Simon promised to fly, and thus ascend to the heavenly abodes. On the day agreed upon, he went to the Capitoline hill, and throwing himself from the rock, began his ascent. Then Peter standing in the midst, said ‘O Lord Jesus, show him that his arts are vain.’ Hardly had the words been uttered, when the wings which Simon had made use of became entangled, and he fell. His thigh was fractured—never to be healed,—and some time afterwards, the unhappy man died at Aretia, whither he had retired after his discomfiture.” Our Saint, years later, returns to the same history, in his work on the six days. “Peter overthrew and laid prostrate Simon, as he soared to heaven by magic flight, by breaking the power of his charms.”—*l. iv, c. 8*.

Particulars
of the dis-
comfiture,
handed down
by St. Am-
brose

PHILASTRIUS OF BRIXIA, in his observations on the heresy of Simon, says, that when the heresiarch “arrived at Rome,” where “he would contend with the blessed Apostle (Peter), in the presence of Nero the king, being completely overthrown by the power of the blessed Apostle, and stricken by an angel, he merited such a death as made the evident lie of his magic patent to all men.” In fine the illustrious prelate of Africa, ST. AUGUSTIN, in several parts of his works, distinctly alludes to St. Peter’s overcoming

and
Philastrus

Simon at Rome. In the beginning of his book on *heresies*, he says, "in which city (Rome) the Apostle Peter overcame (extinxit) him (Magus), by the true power of the Almighty God";¹ and similar observations may be found in his *Commentary on the Ninth Psalm*, &c. &c.

III. Nor does our argument end here in favour of our first proposition: there are local circumstances which give additional importance to the proofs already adduced. In what other part of Christendom, save Rome, shall we find spots pointed out, as places hallowed by Peter's crucifixion,

¹ I consider it quite superfluous to answer at any length the observations of Neander, who, by the way, is a mere copier of Daille on this head, in his work entitled, *General History of the Christian Religion and Church*, vol. ii, p. 123, Ed. 1851, relative to Magus and his discomfiture. This Simon is neither a *myth*, nor are his doings *mere romantic legends*, as this author would have us believe. For 1^o the authors of the primitive Church, as we have seen, write absolutely about the personality and deeds of the imposter. 2^o Even Apologists, as Justin, Tertullian, and Vincent of Lerins, speak as plainly concerning him as about any other well-known individuals. Now assuredly such men as these, would not have referred even Emperors and a Roman Senate to the history of a fictitious person. By doing so they would have stultified their own proceedings; and by this appeal to a fictitious character, would have materially injured the cause of Christianity. One inaccuracy of this nature, would have caused an amount of mischief which volumes of truths would not have sufficed to repair. 3^o The inscription to which Neander refers, and which was discovered in 1574, is quite distinct from the one given by Justin, l. c. and alluded to by Tertullian. Whilst that discovered in 1574 runs thus: *Semoni Sango Deo Fideo Sacrum*, the other consists of these three words, *Simoni Deo Sancto*; the two are widely different. 4^o We are informed by St. Augustine, in his work, *De civit. Dei*, l. xviii, c. 19, that as Æneas was proclaimed a god after his death, by the Latins, so was Sangus likewise by the Sabines. Lactantius likewise states that the Sabines adored Sangus, in the same manner as the Romans paid divine honors to Quirinus, and the Athenians to Minerva. For further information on this point, the reader may consult either *Annius* or *Sequester Vibius*. 5^o It is remarkable too, that the statue in honor of Sanctus was of metal, whilst those raised to Sangus are uniformly found to be of stone. This brief refutation of Neander must suffice.

and by Peter's tomb? Where, but there, are there monuments existing of his imprisonment, and of his miraculous power, and of his Priesthood? The hill of his sufferings is shown; his chains are shown; shown too is the place of his imprisonment and of his power. The spot is still pointed out where he resided for awhile, an honored guest, and the altar where he sacrificed, and the place where Christ appeared, still called from Peter's question the *Domine quo vadis*: these are shewn to the pilgrims of the nineteenth century, as they were to pilgrims ages and ages ago—but they are only shown at Rome. That St. Peter was confined in the Tullian or Mamertine prison, and that the chains kept at the Church entitled *St. Pietro in vincole*, are really the chains which the Apostle once wore, are facts which have been proved literally to demonstration, by the illustrious Abbate Mich. Angelo Monsocrate,² and by the nearly equally learned Cancellieri.³ That the Church of S. Pudentiana stands on the precise spot where the senator Pudens received, and was baptized by the Prince of the Apostles, and that it contains a portion of an altar at which St. Peter was wont to sacrifice, are venerable traditions credited in former ages, and still believed in by the critic as well as by the pious faithful;⁴ and St. Ambrose and others speak confidently as to Christ's appearance to Peter when leaving Rome.⁵ Finally, and to this we

Local traditions of Rome, relative to St. Peter's sufferings, death, &c.

² De Cat. S. Petri diss. Romæ, 1750.

³ Notizie del Carc. Tull. c. xiv.

⁴ See Rambler for 1851, vol. viii, p. 209. We recommend this talented work to our readers.

⁵ See S. Ambrose Serms. de Basil trad., and Hegesypus l. iii, de Excid. Urb. Hierosol. The tradition as gathered from the authors already named, is as follows: The idolators seeking to destroy Peter after his victory over the magician, he, in compliance with the wishes of the Christians, consented to leave Rome for a while; but on leaving one of the gates he met

Rome alone
has these
local proofs.

shall soon have to call attention, the pictorial catalogues of the Roman Pontiffs, as well as mural and other inscriptions, all testify to the same fact. Now, whence this everlasting pointing to Rome when Peter's history is concerned—this inability to separate the city and the Apostle; whence these prisons, chains, hills, and tombs sacred to the head of the Apostles, if the fact of Peter's being at Rome be at all disputable? Why has no other city claimed the honors which Rome monopolizes; and in opposition to the song—

O Roma felix, quæ duorum martyrum
Es purpurata glorioso sanguine—

started some other local joyous strain; claiming what Rome claims? The reason is plain. The world knows, and it always knew, that Rome was the city signally favored by God and Peter; and that to oppose the prescription which Rome can urge is simply ridiculous.

Burton's
admissions.

I think that the conclusion which the Rev. E. Burton has adopted in his work entitled "Description of the Antiquities and other Curiosities of Rome," will be that of all impartial students of historical facts. In the second edition of the work referred to, he thus writes: "We must remember that St. Peter was crucified on this hill, but was buried at the Vatican. I should be inclined to believe the latter tradition, and perhaps the former may also be true: but the place of his interment is more likely

our Lord, to whom he said, "Whither, O Lord, goest thou?" and Christ answered, "I go to Rome to be again crucified." Peter saw the meaning of the words: he was to be crucified as a Member of Christ. Accordingly he returned to Rome, where he suffered on the cross, but with his head downwards, as he himself requested, out of reverence for his Lord. See Fleury's Church Hist. ad annum 386, book xviii.

to have been kept in remembrance than that of his suffering. Even Roman Catholic writers have differed as to the *precise* spot where he was crucified, and eight different places have been mentioned, *ALL of which* are in the neighbourhood of the Vatican. Eusebius appeals to a constant tradition, that St. Peter was buried in a cemetery at the Vatican, and quotes the authority of Caius who lived early in the third century.¹ Some Protestant writers have thought it necessary to deny that St. Peter was ever at Rome at all. I confess that I am utterly at a loss to see what great advantage is given to the Roman Catholics by allowing their first Pope to have resided at Rome. But at all events, *truth is to be preferred to PREJUDICE*; and the Protestant cause is so great a gainer by the records of authentic history, that it would be the height of ingratitude in us to endeavour to pervert its testimony. After examining the evidence produced by Baronius, the conclusion seems *irresistible that St. Peter undoubtedly visited Rome and suffered martyrdom there*. The only question is concerning the period of his residence. It used to be religiously maintained by the Roman Catholics that he held the see of Rome twenty-five years: but the Protestants have shown this to be impossible, and some writers of the Romish Church have allowed it to be unsupported by history.² The only ancient authors who can be quoted as asserting it, are Eusebius and Jerome: perhaps we should name the latter only. We read in the Chronicle of Eusebius at the year 43, that Peter, after founding the Church of Antioch,³ was sent to Rome, where

Baronius' proofs of St. Peter's visit to Rome, irresistible.

¹ H. E., b. ii, c. 25.

² Valesius, Papebrochius, Pagius, &c.

³ Socrates calls Peter the first Bishop of Antioch. l. vi, c. 8. See also Sozomi. l. i, c. 2.



he preached the gospel for twenty-five years, and was Bishop of that City. But this part of the Chronicle does not exist in the Greek, nor in the Armenian, and it is supposed to have been one of the additions made by Jerome. Eusebius does not say the same in any other part of his writings, though he mentions St. Peter's going to Rome in the reign of Claudius;¹ but Jerome tells us that he came in the second year of this Emperor and held the see twenty-five years.² On the other hand, Origen, who is quoted by Eusebius himself,³ says that Peter went to Rome towards the end of his life; and Lactantius places it in the reign of Nero, and adds that he suffered martyrdom not long after.⁴ Thus the testimony of the Fathers is at least divided, if it does not expressly disprove his long residence in Rome. Eusebius indeed, says in his history, as observed already, that Peter went to Rome in the reign of Claudius: but this very passage, if read with attention, seems to imply that he did not stay there long. The Acts of the Apostles also make it impossible that he should have *resided* there during the eighteen years after the resurrection, whereas the second year of Claudius (which is the time mentioned by Jerome for his going to Rome,) falls in with the ninth year after the resurrection, or A.D. 42.⁵ The history contained in the Acts may perhaps allow him to have gone to Rome sometime in the reign of Claudius, but his visit must have been a short one: if we follow Eusebius, it must have

¹ l. ii, c. 14.

² Cat. de Script. Eccles.

³ l. iii, 1

⁴ De Morte persec., c. 2.

⁵ Burton evidently follows the common data of the year of our Blessed Saviour's death. Every scholar knows that this chronology is quite inaccurate. For obvious reasons it has not been corrected: the change would cause great inconvenience.

been before the events recorded in the 18th chapter of the Acts. It has been observed also, that St. Paul makes no mention of St. Peter, either in his Epistle to the Romans, or in his Epistles written from Rome: from which it is inferred, that St. Peter was not at Rome at either of those periods. So that there seems good reason to prefer the authority of Origen and Lactantius, and to conclude either that St. Peter made two visits, the first of which was a very short one in the reign of Claudius, and the second in the time of Nero; or that he did not go there at all till the time of the latter Emperor somewhere about the year 66, which was also the period of St. Paul's second visit to Rome. It is supposed that they suffered martyrdom in the following year, during the persecution of Nero. This is positively asserted by Eusebius on the authority of Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth.⁶

I mention below the names of some of those writers who assert St. Peter to have been at Rome, and to have suffered martyrdom there. I am indebted for most of the references to Baronius, and the period in which each author lived, is also added.⁷ ”

Such is the language, and such the reasoning of the Rev. Mr. Burton. He looks upon the fact of St. Peter's

⁶ l. ii, c. 25.

⁷ Papias A.D. (116) apud Eus., l. ii, c. 13—Dionysius (170) apud Eus. l. ii, c. 25—Irenæus (178) Adv. Hær. l. iii, c. 1—Clem. Alex. (194) apud Eus. l. vi, c. 14—Tertull. (200) de Præs. c. 36—De Baptis. c. 4—Adv. Marcion. l. iv, c. 5—Petrus Alex. (300) c. 9—Origen (240) apud Eus. l. iii, c. 1—Lactantius (306) l. iv, c. 21—Euseb. (315) passim—Athanasius (326) Apol. vol. i, p. 331—Hist. Arian. i, p. 366—Ambrosius (374) in Nat. Apost. (*vide supra*)—Hieron. (392) de Script. Ecc. in Petro—Augustinus (398) Serm. vii, in Nat. Apost.—Chrysostom (398) de Petro et Paulo—Socrates (400) Hist. Eccles. l. v, c. 22—Cyril (412) Epist. ad Cœlest—Sozom. (fifth century) l. iv, c. 15; l. vii, c. 4—Theodoret (423) Epist. 116.

Burton's one
difficulty,
proved to be
nugatory.

sojourn at Rome as indisputable; and indeed the evidence which establishes it is too plain to be avoided or rejected. The rejection in this case, as he insinuates, would involve, in the worst consequences, all authentic history. As to the difficulty on which he seems to dwell and insist, namely, that St. Peter could not have been in Rome for the continuous term of twenty-five years, it is wholly nugatory: for no Catholic ever pretended that St. Peter always remained in Rome after the establishment of his Episcopal see in the Imperial city. All suppose that he did not remain there. And if they still allow that he was the Bishop of Rome for upwards of twenty-five years, notwithstanding years of absence, they maintain this precisely on the same grounds as they ascribe twenty-three years of spiritual sovereignty to Pius VI, and twenty-three also to Pius VII. Each of these pontiffs was for a considerable time exiled far away from the city whence he derived his name of Roman Pontiff. I cannot do better in the elucidation of this point than translate the words of the truly orthodox and learned professor of history, Dr. Döllinger, which occur in his work entitled "*The Beginnings of Christianity*," vol. i, p. 70-1-2. "Following," he says, "the unanimous tradition of Christian antiquity, the Apostle Peter was crucified at Rome, after having governed the Church there in quality of Bishop, and transmitted to his successors with the Roman Episcopate, the primacy which Jesus Christ had conferred on him. As to the time of his arrival at Rome, and the duration of his episcopate in that city, opinions are very diverging, and it is impossible to reconcile the data of the ancients on this point, otherwise than by admitting that the prince of the Apostles was twice in the capital of the

Explanation
offered by
Döllinger.

world. His first abode would fall according to Eusebius, St. Jerome and Orosius in the second year of the reign of Claudius—the 42nd after Jesus Christ—an epoch at which Peter would have gone to Rome to put a stop to the seductions of Simon the magician, and would have there established the foundations of a Church. Then, being included in the edict of banishment which Claudius had promulgated against the Jews, he must quickly have left the capital of the world for Jerusalem, where he was overtaken by the persecution of Agrippa. It would seem that he afterwards undertook a more extensive Apostolical journey to Asia Minor, and founded or visited the Churches of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia, to which he addressed later his encyclical letter from Rome. St. Jerome however assigns this excursion into Asia Minor to a period anterior to the Apostle's first visit to Rome. Somewhat later Peter went to Antioch, and thence to the synod of Jerusalem. Under the reign of Nero, he went to Rome, for the second time, where he suffered with Paul in the year 67, the death of a martyr. It is of this journey that Lactantius and Denis of Corinth speak. Thus may be explained the twenty-five years of Episcopacy at Rome, which are assigned to St. Peter, by Eusebius and St. Jerome. In fact, there is an interval of exactly twenty-five years from the second year of the reign of Claudius to which is assigned the first arrival of St. Peter at Rome, to the death of St. Peter. As for a continuous residence of twenty-five years duration at Rome, that was never maintained by any person whatever." In these few lines of Döllinger, the objections raised by a host of writers, for writer copies writer to a painful extent, when engaged in attacking the Church or See of Rome, are entirely solved :

*Chronology
of St. Peter's
journeys.*

these objections are based on what logicians call, an *ignorantia Elenchi*.

St. Mark, the
disciple of
St. Peter,
writes his
Gospel at
Rome:

IV. One more argument in confirmation of the first proposition will bring this part of our task to a close. This argument proceeds on the authority of those Fathers of the Church, who uniformly assert that St. Mark was the interpreter of St. Peter, and that he wrote at Rome what he had heard St. Peter say in his addresses to the converted Jews in that city. On this head we have much and very distinct evidence.

proved from
Clement
Alex.

1° CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA has delivered to us the following tradition, as derived from the oldest presbyters. He says "that the gospel of Mark was occasioned in the following manner. When Peter had proclaimed the word publicly at Rome, and declared the Gospel under the influence of the Spirit; as there was a great number present, they requested Mark who had followed him from afar, and remembered well what he had said, to reduce these things to writing, and that after composing the Gospel he gave it to those who requested it of him." *C. Alex. Hypotyposes*, apud Euseb. l. vi, c. xiv.¹

Papias.

2° PAPIAS tells us that what he records he had received from the friends of the Apostles; and he hands down the following statement on the authority of John the Presbyter. "Mark being the interpreter of Peter,—(*where, we have just seen*)—whatsoever he recorded he wrote with great accuracy, but not however in the order in which it was spoken or done by our Lord, for he neither heard nor followed our Lord, but, as before said, he was in company

¹ This work of Clement has unfortunately been lost. The extracts preserved by Eusebius evidence its importance, as a record in favour of the Sacred Scriptures.

with Peter, who gave him such instruction as was necessary, &c." Apud *Eus.* l. iii, c. 39.

3° "Mark, (says ST. JEROME), the disciple and interpreter of Peter, at the solicitation of the brethren at Rome, wrote a short Gospel, according to what he had heard Peter state. Which, when Peter had heard, he approved and delivered to the Church to be read by his authority, ^{St. Jerome} as Clement writes in the sixth book of *Hypotyposes*. And Papias, the Bishop of Hieropolis, makes mention of this Mark, as Peter also does in his first Epistle, designating Rome figuratively under the name of Babylon. "The Church which is in Babylon . . . saluteth you, and so doth my son Mark."—*L. de Scrip. Eccles. verbo Marcus*, p. 281.

To content ourselves with one further extract, taken from the Father of Ecclesiastical history, EUSEBIUS thus expresses himself: "The divine word having thus been ^{and} established among the Romans, the power of Simon was soon extinguished and destroyed, together with the man. So greatly however did the splendour of piety enlighten the minds of Peter's hearers, that it was not sufficient to hear but once, nor to receive the unwritten doctrine of the Gospel of God, but they persevered in every variety of entreaties, to solicit Mark, as the companion of Peter, and whose Gospel we have, that he should leave them a monument of the doctrine thus orally communicated, in writing. Nor did they cease their solicitations until they had prevailed with the man, and thus become the means of that history which is called the Gospel according to Mark. They say also that the Apostle (Peter), having ascertained what was done, by the revelation of the Spirit, was delighted with the zealous ardour expressed by these men, and that the history obtained his authority for the

purpose of being read in the Churches. This account is given by Clement in the sixth book of his Institutions, whose testimony is corroborated also by that of Papias, Bishop of Hieropolis. But Peter makes mention of Mark in the first Epistle, which he is also said to have composed at the same City of Rome, and that he shews this fact by calling the city by an unusual trope, Babylon; thus—“The Church at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you, as doth also my son Marcus.”—*Eus.* l. ii, c. 15. I pass over the equally cogent authorities of Tertullian,¹ Epiphanius,² Augustin,³ &c., believing that as a confirmation, what has been adduced is abundantly sufficient; and I hasten at once to elucidate the words taken from the First Epistle of St. Peter—“The Church which is in Babylon, saluteth you;” for from these words fresh evidence may be gathered, in proof of the point under examination. As we have already seen, two eminent biblical scholars, for such assuredly were Eusebius and Jerome, distinctly affirm that Rome is signified under the name Babylon, and that from Rome consequently St. Peter sent his letter to the faithful to whom it was addressed. And there is not a Father of the Church of the first five centuries who, if he undertake to explain literally the passage in question, does not interpret it in accordance with the explanations of St. Jerome and Eusebius. This again is a great point gained: it shews more and more distinctly that no Christian in former times ever imagined it possible that the fact of Peter’s sojourn at Rome could be impugned. But what explanations do some modern writers give? In the first place, it is said,

St. Peter wrote his first Epistle at Rome.

¹ Contra Marcion, l. iv, c. 5. ² Hær. li, c. 6. ³ De Cons. Evang. l. i, c. 1.

that St. Peter wrote his Epistle at Babylon on the Euphrates. But this is highly improbable. For 1° the Jews had been but a short while before St. Peter wrote his Epistle, driven thence, as also from Seleucia, by order of Caius Cæsar,⁴ and it is not at all likely that the Apostle of circumcision would have undertaken so long a journey to visit a spot whence all his countrymen had been so recently expelled; and 2° if St. Peter was ever there, his visit must have been very unprofitable; for there is nothing to induce us to believe that he planted a Church either there or thereabouts. But was it at Babylon in Egypt that St. Peter wrote? No; for this place hardly existed then, except in name,⁵ and no record exists to justify even the suspicion of this Babylon having ever been visited by our Apostle. There being then no other Babylon which we can refer to, the question returns, was *Rome* really meant by St. Peter when he spoke of Babylon. I think so. For 1° in this Epistle mention is made of Mark; now that Mark had been at Rome has been proved abundantly. 2° The Apostle warns the Christians of Asia of the persecutions which the Emperor was about to commence; this might easily be learned at Rome, but how could St. Peter have learned this on the banks of the Euphrates, or in the wilds of Egypt. 3° It is very natural to suppose that the Christians, used to the language of Holy Scripture, would call Rome, then the focus of all that was superstitious in religion, and shameful in idolatry, Babylon; and that St. Peter would make use of a term to which the Christians had long been familiarized. This is the view taken by a modern Protestant writer, whose words I shall transcribe:—"Another controversy has

Meaning of the word Babylon, as used by St. Peter.

It must mean Rome.

⁴ Josephus, l. xviii, c. ult. Antiq.

⁵ Strabo, l. xvii.

been agitated with respect to the place where the Epistle was written. In the concluding verses, it is implied that the Apostle was then at Babylon; but whether the word is used in a real sense to designate the city of that name, or mystically to signify Jerusalem or Rome, is the matter in debate. *In all probability the term is employed for Rome:* for the Jews were fond of using figurative appellations, especially in their national distresses. Edom was frequently a name for their heathen oppressors; and as Babylon was the cause of their first dispersion and captivity, it is not unlikely that Rome, the instrument of their second, and which so closely resembled Babylon in 'her abominations, idolatries, and persecutions of the saints,' should be denominated by the same title." See *Penny Encyc.*, article *Peter*, vol. xviii, p. 22. Everything tends to convince us that St. Peter must have meant Rome, when he writes of Babylon. That he was there, and there too with Mark, history declares; that he was ever in Babylon of Chaldea, or Babylon of Egypt, either alone or in company with Mark, is not established by any kind of documentary or monumental evidence. Under such circumstances, there seems to be no other alternative, than to allow to pagan Rome the honor of having received the great Apostle, and to admit further that it was there that the Apostle penned or dictated his inspired Epistle.

What then is the character of the evidence already adduced? Indeed it is such as must appear perfectly overwhelming. Papias, Clement, Caius and Denis of Corinth; Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Lactantius, Eusebius and Peter of Alexandria; Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Ambrose, Jerome, Rufinus, Austin and Optatus of Melvis;

Allowed by
Protestants.

Synopsis of
the evidence
of the East
and West,
adduced
already.

Egysippus, Theodoret, Arnobius, Orosius, Innocent, Gelasius and Philastrius of Brixia; not to adduce other names; all testify to the same fact: *that* PETER VISITED ROME. In other words, the representatives of the illustrious Churches of Rome, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Corinth, Antioch and Milan; of Italy, Gaul, Africa, Phrygia, Palestine and Spain; all testify openly and unhesitatingly to the fact of Peter's residence in the Eternal City. Not one of them speaks doubtingly; not one refers to it as a mere report; not one makes use of language which could lead us to imagine that a doubt had ever been whispered in his hearing opposed to this statement. The testimony is univocal. Further, there is not a single writer of all antiquity who says one word in maintenance of an opposite proposition. All who refer to the See of Peter, and to the place of his death, &c., speak of Rome as the Apostolic See, and the city of his martyrdom. Considering the object of the early writers of Christianity, which was rather to prove Christ's divinity, and to establish the motives of credibility, than to record the doings even of Peter, the head of the Apostles, it seems to me to be perfectly wonderful how so many ancient and venerable writers have alluded so often and so distinctly to St. Peter's journey to Rome. Whilst silence on this head, would not in the slightest degree have militated against the fact which we have laboured at some length to establish, the positive testimony already adduced in favour of our assertion, *must be admitted* as decisive of the question. Add to this chain of patristic evidence, the local facts already referred to, and in consequence of which Rome became from the earliest ages the resort of pilgrims of every grade from every quarter of the world, and our

This evidence univocal,

and, under circumstances, wonderfully extensive.

Conclusion :
Peter was at
Rome.

cause is established—*Peter was at Rome*;¹ and as we shall soon prove, Rome was his See, that See to which every Prelate, and indeed every Christian, was bound to be united, even unto the end of time.

¹ If the reader wish to see an example of special pleading, let him read Neander's work entitled, "The Planting of Christianity," p. 516, et seq. This author however does not feel sure of his ground; it heaves beneath him, and he feels that it does. The admissions however that the legend of St. Peter's being at Rome "is older than the attempt to exalt the Roman Church through the primacy of its Founder, the Apostle St. Peter," and that "*the belief was universally diffused, that Peter and Paul had taught at Rome*," are valuable. See his Church History, vol. i, 283-4.

Chapter the Second.

CONTENTS.

St. Peter, Bishop of Rome—Proved—1° From the names of the Roman See—2° From the appeals of the Fathers to the Prelates of this See—3° From the Liberian, Pauline, and other catalogues of every age.—St. Peter was not only Bishop of Rome, but the Head of the Church—Proved from the words of Christ, and the concurrent testimony of the Fathers—An objection answered—Summary of the opinions and belief of the Fathers:—This summary presents to the Christian overwhelming evidence of the point in question.

Was St. Peter Bishop of Rome, and Head of the Church?

THAT St. Peter was Bishop of Rome, has been already clearly proved from the writings of Irenæus, Tertullian, Optatus, Jerome, Rufinus, Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Innocent. We adduced these testimonies in our last chapter. Not only are we told by the writers named that Peter was at Rome, but we are likewise informed that he founded and governed the Church of that city. Nay, more, Rufinus says that St. Peter ruled there for 24, whilst Eusebius and St. Jerome say that he governed that Church during the space of 25 years.¹ The reader is referred to the last chapter for all details.

Peter,
Bishop of
Rome.
according to
the Fathers.

¹ The exact words of Eusebius in Chron. ad Ann. ii, Olymp. ccv, are

Rome always
known as
the See of
Peter.

To add to this list of authorities must assuredly be nearly superfluous. I will however draw attention to a few other particulars which may it is hoped, not only prove still further my proposition, but likewise be found interesting. In the *first* place then, the See of Rome is known emphatically in ancient as well as in modern times, under the titles of *the See of Peter, Peter's chair, the holy, the Apostolic See*. These are the ordinary words by which it is designated now; they are the phrases of course, by which it was denominated formerly. Rome is the Chair of Peter, as St. Cyprian expresses it.¹ Rome is his throne.² And to this Chair—*the Chair of Peter*—all like Jerome had recourse in trouble.³ Though Antioch had been ruled by Peter for seven years, it was not in after ages called *the See of Peter*. Though Jerusalem and other cities could boast of Sees established by Apostles, and Apostolic men, still not one of these was called emphatically and continuously the *Holy See, the Apostolic See: these terms are applied to Rome, and to Rome exclusively*. I need not ask how this is to be explained, for the answer is ready at hand; it has in fact been already given.

The Patri-
stic Cata-
logues of
Bishops,
establish
Peter's
Roman
Episcopacy.

2° A more powerful argument, in proof of St. Peter's Roman Episcopacy, cannot be conceived than that which is drawn from the catalogues, which have been left us by the Fathers and others, of the Bishops of the Roman See. These lists of the principal Sees were kept with the greatest care; and to them the true believers constantly

these: "When Peter the Apostle had first of all founded the Church at Antioch, he is sent to Rome, where, preaching the Gospel, he continues Bishop of the same city for 25 years."

¹ Cyp. Ep. 55 ad Corn.

² Theodoret, l. ii, c. 17.

³ Jerome, Epist. xv, ad Damas.

appealed when establishing their own claims, or disproving the claims of heresy to Apostolicity. Look at our records, they said ; see how we can ascend from Prelate to Prelate till we arrive at either an Apostle, or one directly sent by an Apostle: shew your lists, thus prove your Church to be Apostolical. And since the Roman Church was of all others the most illustrious, the most honoured and the best known, and the Church, as we shall afterwards see, with which all were in communion ; hence it happened that to it more frequent appeals were made than to any other Church. Now at the head of this list of Bishops, the name of Peter is always distinctly placed, or distinctly and clearly supposed, as the following evidence will tend to prove:—

In the lists of Roman Bishops, Peter's name always first.

“ If the Apostles (says St. Irenæus) had known any hidden mysteries, which they apart and privately, only taught the perfect, they would have delivered them, before all others, to those to whom they even entrusted the very Churches. For they sought that *they whom they left as successors, delivering unto them their own post of government*, should be especially perfect and blameless in all things ; whose upright discharge of their office would be of great profit, as their fall would be a great calamity. But as it would be a very long task to enumerate, in such a work as this, the successions of all the Churches, by pointing out that tradition which the greatest and most ancient and universally known Church of Rome,—founded and constituted by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul—derives from the Apostles, and that faith announced to all men, which, through the succession of Bishops, has come down to us, we confound all those who in any way, whether through complacency or vain-glory, or blindness,

St. Irenæus.

All must
agree with
Rome.

and perverse opinion, assemble otherwise than as behoveth them. For with this Church, on account of a more powerful principality, it is necessary that every Church, that is, those who are on every side faithful, agree, in which has been always preserved by those who are on every side, that tradition which is from the Apostles.¹ The Blessed Apostles² thus having founded and built up that Church, committed the sacred office of the Episcopacy to Linus, of whom Paul makes mention in his Epistles to Timothy. To him succeeded Anacletus, and after him, the *third* FROM the Apostles who obtained the Episcopacy, was Clement. . . . But to this Clement succeeded Evaristus, and to this Evaristus, Alexander. Next to him—thus the *sixth from the Apostles*—Sixtus was appointed; and after him Telesphorus, who suffered a glorious martyrdom; next Hyginus; then Pius; after whom was Anicetus; to Anicetus succeeded Soter; and to him—the twelfth in succession from the Apostles—succeeded Eleutherius, who now holds the Episcopate. By this order and succession, both that tradition which is in the Church

¹ I have given in the text, what I consider to be, the plainest and most natural translation of St. Irenæus' words. As Lingard has observed, any translation of the word *convenire*, which does not imply an intellectual agreement renders the passage nearly unintelligible. But should we admit the conjecture of Thierch that the word *convenire*, is a translation not of *συμβάινειν*, as Giesler supposes, but of *συνερχεσθαι* then the passage would be still more favourable to Rome. For then it would signify, that from the very nature of the case, Rome being the great and illustrious Church, to it the members of all other Churches were bound personally to repair

² It is not my duty here to explain the meaning of St. Irenæus, who speaks of the Blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, leaving Linus for their successor. All I have to shew is, that in the Catalogues given of the Bishops of Rome, *Peter's* name always occurs. The curious reader may consult Selvaggio, vol. ii.

from the Apostles, and the preaching of the truth, have come down to us."—l. iii, c. 3, n. 1—3.

Singularly striking is the language of Tertullian in reference to the proof derived from Apostolic succession. "But," he says, "if any heresies dare to place themselves in the midst of the Apostolic age, that they may therefore seem to have been handed down from the Apostles, because they existed under the Apostles, we may say; let them then make known the originals of their churches, let them unroll the line of their Bishops so coming down by succession from the beginning, that their first Bishop had for his ordainer and predecessor some one of the Apostles or of Apostolic men, *so he were one that continued steadfast with the Apostles.*³ For in this manner do the Apostolic

Tertullian's
list, and
argument.

³ *So he were one that continued steadfast with the Apostles.* These words contain a very pertinent truth. It is obvious that the mere continuance of a line of ministry, in a place where even Apostles had planted originally the true Church, is no proof whatsoever of the actual ministry belonging to the Church originally established. Orders may be perpetuated, whilst the original faith may have been changed; and the whole world may be ringing with the change. For example, the schismatical Greeks may have continued their orders, as also may the Nestorians and Eutychians: is therefore the denier of the Holy Spirit, or the destroyer of the God-man, a member of the true Church? So likewise with regard to the Anglican establishment: What avails it to say that Cranmer was ordained by a Catholic, if he and his master pulled down here, the Church of Cranmer's ordination, and raised up another which the Church of Cranmer's ordination rejected, repudiated, anathematized; rejected and anathematized as absolutely as it rejects and anathematizes, Arianism or Nestorianism. What if a Protestant bishop left the Anglican establishment and joined the Mormonites, and ordained numbers according to the ordinal of England, would therefore the Mormonite *system* be true and identical with Protestantism? These observations I have made in consequence of the endless and bold blundering of modern writers on this head. Orders seem every thing. A Church with orders is, *ipso facto*, a branch of the Church Catholic! Palmer, of Worcester College, who has been followed by the author of *Hookwell*; or, *the Anglo-Catholic Family*, vol. i, p. 309, has run the whole

Nullity of
the Anglican
pretence to
Apostolicity.

Churches reckon their origin; as the Church of the Smyrneans recounts that Polycarp was placed there by

length of this absurdity. He traces the Anglican through the Roman Church, beginning with SS. Peter and Paul, and continuing the succession through Linus, Cletus, Clement, Evaristus, Alexander, down to the sixty-fifth Pontiff, Gregory the Great; afterwards he continues the line through St. Augustine, Laurentius, Mellitus, and those other Bishops of Canterbury who succeeded the prelates sent hither by Gregory, down to Cranmer, Parker, and the successors of this Elizabethan bishop. Let him read his list and the *Homily on the Peril of Idolatry* together: the discrepancy will appear great enough. But to owe one's ministry to idolators! What a thought! Now, is not the man who admits *The Book of Homilies*, and each Protestant minister is forced by virtue of his thirty-fifth Article to maintain that it contains a true and wholesome doctrine, obliged to laugh at the very idea of an Apostolic Church, a Church coming down from the Apostles through every age, even to our own times? He is. For what do we read in one of the Homilies? This appalling statement: that "Laity and Clergy; learned and unlearned; *ALL sects and degrees of men, women, and children, of whole Christendom* (an horrible and dreadful thing to think on), have been *at once drowned in abominable idolatry*, of all other vices most detested by God, and damnable to man, the space of eight hundred years and more." All Christendom then became idolatrous; it was guilty of the most detestable of crimes; there was not one, no not even a child, who was not guilty; all sects and degrees of men, women, and children, having plunged into the abyss of deadly apostacy. What follows from this? Why if *all* Christians had become idolaters, then the Church had ceased. Idolatry had supplanted it entirely, and the world was worse off than it had been before Christ's coming—for there was neither a true Church, nor *one* faithful worshipper. Then Protestantism was not for eight hundred years; then it is not an Apostolic Church! A writer or speaker of the sixteenth century might have addressed the Anglican Church in the well-known words of Tertullian, by the change only of a name or two. "Where are Henry the 8th, and Elizabeth, Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, Cromwell and Somerset, the followers once of the Catholic Church? For it is agreed that they lived not so long ago in the pontificates, speaking generally, of Leo, Clement, Paul, and Pius, and that they at first believed in the *doctrine of the Catholic Church in the Church of Rome*, under the Episcopate of the blessed Leo, Clement, Paul, and Pius, until by reason of their ever restless *passions and ambition*, being excommunicated, they disseminated the poison of their doctrines. There are yet living in the world those who remember their apostacy—so that they may not deny that they are of a later date."—*De pres.* c. 30.

John; as that of the Romans does that Clement was in like manner ordained by Peter; just as also the rest show those, whom being appointed by the Apostles to the Episcopate, they have as transmitters of the Apostolic seed. Let the heretics counterfeit something of the same sort; for, after blaspheming, what is unlawful for them? But, even though they should counterfeit it, they will not have advanced a step. For their doctrine itself, when compared with that of the Apostles, will, by the difference and contrariety between them, declare that it had neither any Apostle, nor any Apostolic man for its author. . . .”—De præes, c. 32.

Eusebius often refers to the succession of Bishops. “Linus, whom he (Paul) has mentioned in his second Epistle to Timothy as his companion at Rome, has been shown to have been *the first after Peter who obtained* the Episcopate at Rome. . . . In the second year of Titus’s reign, Linus, Bishop of the Church at Rome, transferred it to Anacletus. . . . Clement also, who was appointed the third Bishop of this Church (Roman), is proved by Paul to have been a fellow labourer and fellow soldier with him. . . . After Evaristus had completed the eighth year as Bishop of Rome, he was succeeded in the episcopal office by Alexander, the fifth in the succession from Peter and Paul. . . .”—See *Eusebius H. E.* l. iii, c. 4, c. xiii, and l. iv, c. 1, *et alibi passim*.

*Eusebius’
Catalogue,*

Epiphanius’ list is more complete and exact than any hitherto produced. “The succession of the Bishops of Rome was in the following order: Peter and Paul, and Cletus, Clement, Evaristus, Alexander, Xystus, Telesphorus, Evaristus, Hyginus, Pius, Anicetus, the same named by me above as in the list. And let no one wonder that we

and the
more exten-
ded one of
Epiphanius.

have gone through each of these matters ; for by means of these the manifest truth is for ever pointed out.”—T. i, *adv. Hær.* p. 107.

St. Austin's list, and views of the Roman succession from Peter.

“If,” says *St. Augustine*, “the order of Bishops succeeding each other is to be considered, how much more securely, and really beneficially, do we reckon from *Peter himself*, to whom, bearing a figure of the Church, the Lord says, ‘upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not overcome it.’ For to Peter succeeded Linus, to Linus, Clement, &c. . . . to Damasus, Siricius, to Siricius, Anastasius. In this order of succession no Donatist appears.”—*Ep. liii, Generoso*. “In the Catholic Church, . . . the agreement of peoples and nations keeps me ; . . . the succession of priests from the very Chair of the Apostle Peter—to whom the Lord after His resurrection committed His sheep to be fed—down even to the present Bishop, keeps me.”—*Contra Epist. Fund. Manichæi*, t. viii, c. 269.

St. Optatus' Catalogue,

St. Optatus makes use of nearly the same language as *St. Augustine*. Having to contend with Donatists, and the same class of heresies in general as engaged the thoughts of the Bishop of Hippo, he naturally adopted the same line of argument. Members of the same Church, and belonging to it on the same principles, they urged these principles against their opponents, trusting that conviction, or silence at least, on the part of the enemies of the Church, would be the result. “Peter filled that pre-eminent Chair, which is the first mark (of the Church); to him succeeded Linus; to Linus succeeded Clement; to Clement, Anacleto (the rest as usual); to Liberius, Damasus; to Damasus, Siricius, who is now our colleague, *with whom the whole world, by the mutual exchange of circular*

letters, is concordant with us in one fellowship of communion. You who wish to assign to yourselves the Holy Church, tell us the origin of your Chair.”—*De Schism. Donatist.* l. ii, n. 3.

St. Jerome, in his work on *Ecclesiastical Writers*, says, “Clement, of whom the Apostle Paul writing to the Philippians, says, ‘with Clement, and with the others, my fellow labourers, whose names are written in the book of life,’ was the fourth Bishop of Rome AFTER PETER. For the *second* was Linus, and the third Anaclete, although many of the Latins think that Clement was the second after the Apostle Peter.”—p. 285, *Ed. Erasm.*

3° Nor is this all which can be adduced in illustration of the point in hand. From the ancient catalogues and pictorial representations of the Pontiffs, we have another and very powerful argument, not only of St. Peter’s being Bishop of Rome, but also of his being Bishop there for the space of five-and-twenty years. The most ancient catalogue of which we have any distinct record, was drawn up about the year 354, during the Pontificate of Pope Liberius, from which circumstance it has derived its name of the *Liberian Catalogue*. It begins with St. Peter, and ends with Liberius. To St. Peter it assigns twenty-five years of Episcopacy at Rome; and of all the succeeding Pontiffs therein named, with the exception of Liberius, the exact term of possession of the Roman See is distinctly recorded. If it be asked, why the term of Liberius’s Episcopacy is not given, this answer will be returned: *Liberius was still alive when that list was drawn up.* ¹ It

and
S. Jerome’s.

Further
proofs from
the Liberian
catalogue.

¹ On this Catalogue see Bianchi, in his work entitled *Della potestà, et della polizia della Chiesa*, t. iii, p. 255—276; and Schelstrate, t. i, diss. iii, de Antiq. Cat. R. Pontif. This document thus commences: “Imperante

St. Jerome
not the first
to ascribe
twenty-five
years of
Episcopacy
to Peter.

was published by Bucher, together with his commentaries on the paschal Canon of Pope Victor, and later was illustrated by E. Schelstrate, Lambecius, and others. Petau¹ and Pearson² refer to it as to a document of unquestionable authority. Thus we are possessed of an authority anterior to Jerome's catalogue, and yet agreeing completely with it. This I mention in consequence of the reiterated, and in many ways false assertion, that St. Jerome was the first to assign to St. Peter twenty-five years of Episcopacy at Rome.

Numerous
other lists.

Since the fourth century numerous catalogues have been drawn up, some of greater and some of lesser antiquity, but in all of these Peter ever stands forth as the first Pontiff of Rome; and furthermore, the long term of twenty-five years is assigned to his Episcopacy. He is the head, the leader, the founder of the Pontifical succession at Rome. Him Pontiffs of all nations look upon as the first of the Roman line. It matters not whether Englishmen or Frenchmen, Germans or Spaniards, Dalmatians or Thracians, Syrians or Africans, Greeks or Italians, sit in the Apostolic Chair, the Chair of Peter, the statement is always the same; and it is this: we are the successors of Blessed Peter of Galilee. This fact can only be explained one way; by acknowledging that the whole world was aware and convinced of the fact of Peter having been Bishop of Imperial Rome. To give the catalogues in detail of the Roman Pontiffs would be impossible

Tiberio Cæsare passus est D. N. J. C. duobus Geminis Consulibus. VIII. Kal. Aprilis: et post Ascensum ejus Beatissimus Petrus Episcopatum suscepit; ex quo tempore per successionem dispositum, quis Episcopus et quot annis præfuit vel quo Imperante."

¹ Rat. Temp. l. v, c. 5.

² De Succ. R. Pontif, c. 13.

in a short work such as I am now writing: but if the reader wish to consult them, he may refer to the very interesting and learned work published a few years ago by the Benedictines of Solesmes, entitled, *Origines de l'Eglise Romaine*. In this work the reader will find catalogue on catalogue of Roman Pontiffs; and the antiquity of each learnedly and clearly established.

To the mural catalogue in St. Paul's, on the Ostian way, I must now direct the attention of the reader. In the famous Basilica, dedicated to the Apostle of the gentiles, which was destroyed by fire a few years ago, but which has been nearly restored to its former form and beauty, was to be seen a pictorial list of the Pontiffs, together with a record of the duration of each Pontiff's government. This list was begun as early at least as the time of Leo the Great³ (440), or as others will have it as early as 423,⁴ and to it additions have been constantly made down to our own days. Here then is an important document indeed, and to it we appeal with no ordinary pleasure. Now, what is the record concerning St. Peter? Does he here as well as elsewhere head the list of the Roman Pontiffs? He does; and this is the wording and form of the memorial affixed to his effigies:

Mural catalogue in St. Paul's Church, Rome.

PETRUS:

SED:

ANN.

XXV.

M. II.

D. VII.

that is, Peter sat (in this See) *twenty-five years, two months, and seven days*.

³ See Bianchini de Antiq. Cat. R. P. c. iv, and Marangoni's Chronol. R. P.

⁴ See Zaccharia "Storia della Letteratura d' Italia," v. 567.

From all that has been said, the conclusion is plain : St. Peter was not only Bishop at Rome, he was also Bishop of Rome for a lengthened period ; and further, this fact is better supported than the histories of the Cæsars, and the Assueruses, the Herods, and Æthelreds, who have ruled nations. Let any one endeavour to fix the chronology of the reigns of these sovereigns ; and he will soon find that the evidence which he will be able to adduce in favour of his system will not be half as respectable, as ancient, or as abundant, as that which we have adduced in proof of St. Peter's journeying to Rome, and there ruling, as Bishop of the Eternal City.

The second part of our proposition has as yet to be entered on. Ours was the task, not simply to shew that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome, but further to demonstrate a still more important truth, namely, that Peter, the Bishop of Rome, was the Head of the entire Church—the Ruler of the spiritual kingdom of Christ ; the Shepherd of the mighty flock ; the Governor of the Holy City—the city placed on the mountain's height ; the Pharos light which was to guide all nations to the haven of salvation ; the skilful Pilot who was to steer the mystic vessel safely through every storm and tempest. Such is the proposition which we have to establish ; we have to uphold the Supremacy of St. Peter. And strange it seems to every believer, that any one should be called upon to prove this, since Scripture and history alike bear evidence to the truth. To one possessed of faith,—and faith must ever precede a right understanding of the Holy Scriptures, as daily experience proves ; for to those without faith, is not even the Inspired Volume a book of blasphemy, heresy, and contradiction ?—it appears clear, that there is

Peter not
simply
Bishop of
Rome, but
head of the
Church.

hardly one truth—certainly that one truth would not be either the mystery of the Holy Trinity, or the Divinity of God the Son, incarnate for our sakes,—more clearly referred to, and indeed expressed, in Holy Writ, than the Supremacy of Peter. As Bossuet well observes: “Peter appears the first in every way; the first in making profession of faith; the first in the obligation of exercising charity; the first of all the Apostles who saw our Saviour risen from the dead, as he was also the first witness before all the people; the first when there was question of filling up the number of the Apostles; the first to confirm the faith by a miracle; the first to convert the Jews; the first to receive the Gentiles; the first everywhere. But it is impossible to say all; everything concurs in establishing his primacy; yes, everything, even his faults. The power given to several is not bestowed without restriction, whilst that given to *one alone* and *over all*, and without exception, is communicated in full all receive the same power, but not in the same degree, nor to the same extent. Jesus Christ begins with the first, and in this first he developes all the rest . . . in order to teach us that ecclesiastical authority first established in the person of one, has only been disseminated on condition of being always recalled to its principle of unity, and that all those who shall have to exercise it, ought to hold themselves inseparably united to the same Chair. It is that Chair so celebrated by the fathers of the Church, in exalting which they have vied with one another, attributing to it the principality of the Apostolic Chair, the chief principality; the source of unity; the highest degree of sacerdotal dignity; the Mother Church which holds in her hand the conduct of all other Churches; the head of the

Bossuet's
declaration
on this
point.

Episcopate, whence proceeds the light of government ; the principal Chair ; the only Chair ; through which alone all are able to preserve unity. In these words you hear St. Optatus, St. Augustin, St. Cyprian, St. Irenæus, St. Prosper, St. Avitus, Theodoret, the Council of Chalcedon, and the other Councils ; Africa, Gaul, Greece, Asia, the East and the West united together. Since it was the design of God to permit that there should arise heresies and schisms, there was no Constitution that could sustain itself more firmly, or more powerfully bear them down. By this Constitution everything in the Church is strong, because everything therein is divine and united ; and as each part is divine, the bond also is divine, and all together is such, that each part acts with the power of the whole.”¹ After this general statement made in the truly eloquent language of the Eagle of Meaux, we will proceed to details. We will show in what terms the divine Founder of Christianity spoke to and privileged the Prince of the Apostles ; and afterwards the statements of the great and the good of all antiquity shall be heard, relative to their belief, and the belief of the Churches which they represented, in reference to Peter’s headship. This matter is of permanent importance ; for on the headship of Peter and Peter’s successors the whole of Christianity depends. Destroy this supremacy, this source of unity and jurisdiction, and the Church of the world is split into pieces ; establish it, and the world is Catholic. The *Supremacy* is to the heretics and schismatics of the nineteenth, what the *ὁμολούσιον* was to the Arians of the fourth Century : it is the saving doctrine, the doctrine which will lead men to Christ.

Importance
of the doc-
trine of the
Supremacy.

¹ Bossuet, Sermon, Sur. l’Unité, part. i.

Not once, but several times our Lord addresses to St. Peter language of a most striking character; language which can only be fairly construed in one way, if words, if metaphors, and acknowledged customs and modes of speaking, have any force. Peter was signally favoured. He was one of the first called to the Apostolate; one of the few who were permitted to assist at the transfiguration of Jesus Christ; to him heavenly commissioned women communicated the fact of the resurrection; and of the consequences of this resurrection, Peter was the first and successful exponent. He was singularly zealous; singularly too assisted to know and understand the truth; and in consequence of being the first of the Apostles publickly to announce the Divinity of Christ, he obtained from Christ the highest privilege to which Apostle was ever raised. The particulars of his elevation are thus recorded in the Sacred Scriptures: "But Jesus saith to them (the Apostles), But whom do you say that I am? Simon Peter answered and said, *Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God.* And Jesus answering said to him, Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona, because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I say to thee: *Thou art Cepha*² (ⲪⲪ) (*Rock*) and upon this rock (ⲪⲪ)³ I will build my

Language used by our Saviour to Peter.

² We are informed by St. John, that when our Divine Saviour first saw *Simon*, He thus accosted him: "Thou art Simon the son of Jona, thou shalt be called *Cephas*." Σὺ εἶ Σίμων ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωάνη σὺ κληθήσῃ Κηφᾶς. St. John thus explains the word *Cephas*, "which is, interpreted, Peter;" ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται Πέτρος.

³ A very small author, but one of considerable pretensions, resident in the city of Hereford, has lately published the following nonsense:—'Our Lord says to Peter—'Thou art *Petrus*,' which signifies sometimes 'a rock,' but more generally 'a stone;' but of His Church He says—

Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." Matt. xvi, 15—17. Christ is the Son of the living God; Peter is the Rock; Peter tells Christ that he is the Son of the living God; and Christ tells Peter that he is the rock on which the Church shall be built. Character for character is given; and both characters are equally distinct. Peter speaks plainly to Christ as every Christian allows; every Christian must allow that Christ spoke equally plainly to Peter. Peter then is the *rock* on which the Church of the redeemed was to be erected: he is in respect to the moral edifice what the rock on which the house is raised is to the material fabric.

Force of the
divine ex-
pressions.

According to our divine Saviour's teaching, the duration of the building depends on the character of the foundation. If the fabric be raised only upon sand, it will quickly fall; but if on rock, it will exist, despite of winds and rains,

'I will build it on this *Petra*;' a word which signifies 'a rock' only. Now if our Lord meant that Peter was this rock, then what reason can be given why He did not say, upon this 'Petrus' instead of 'Petra'?" Christ made no such distinction as is here implied. *Peter the Rock*, and *Peter this Rock* are identical; Peter is **ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ** and this rock is **ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ**. Let a difference of terminology be sought in these words. I would advise the writer referred to, to apply a little more to biblical criticism and biblical hermeneutics; for though the observation I have noticed may *pass in a sermon*, it will only provoke the smile of the scholar. Let him read the Appendix to Bishop Marsh's *View of the Churches of England and Rome*, note D, page 314, &c. of the Edition 1841, and he will know more than he now does about the famous text—"Thou art Peter."—*ἐν Βυθῶ ἡ ἀλήθεια*.

Dr. Hammond too, writing about the words *Πέτρος* and *Πέτρα*, of the Greek text, says—"The word *Πέτρος* in the masculine is exactly all one with *Πέτρα* in the feminine, it being in the Syriac—'Thou art Kipha, and on this Kipha,' &c." And Beza is equally explicit—"In Græco sermone *Πέτρος* et *Πέτρα*, non re sed terminantione TANTUM differunt."

and storms and tempests. Christ did not wish his House to pass away; the reverse, he wished it to endure even to the end of time: hence he chose a rock for the Church's foundation; and he declares that the Church, thus based, shall endure for ever. This rock, then, is the support, the sustainer, the preserver of the Church: it is that, in a word, on which its very existence is made to depend. Foundation-stones and superstructure, all must rest on this rock. Whatever is a portion of, whatever belongs to, the Church, is based upon it: *for the Church is all built upon it*—pillar, column, buttress, foundations—all. What less than headship can be assigned in the moral order to such a sustaining and independent power?¹ The caviller may pretend to misunderstand the word, but does he not equally mistake the meaning of those other expressions of holy Scripture, "*The word was made flesh*," and "*the Father is greater than I*"? But let us proceed, for we have only examined half of Christ's words. He adds, "*And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven*." Various appellations are given to the Church in the holy Scriptures; but that of kingdom, as St. Gregory the Great well observes, is one by which it is frequently designated by our Lord. The keys of this kingdom are given to Peter, and to Peter only. Christ gives to others their mission;

Peter, the basis and support of the whole Church.

Further proof derived from the delivery of the keys of the kingdom to Peter,

¹ Of course the words "independent power" only signify that Peter was independent owing to Christ's ordinance. He owed all he had to Christ, but to no other. As Salmeron well observes, "*Respectu Christi Petrus non est fundamentum sed ædificatio; nec caput sed membrum; præcipuum tamen: Respectu nostri est et caput et fundamentum*." This distinction every one must admit, else the Apostle falls into a contradiction where he says that *Christ is the only foundation* which can be laid, whilst elsewhere he tells us that *the Prophets and Apostles are foundations*.—Cf. 1 Cor. iii, 11 and Eph. ii, 20.

Illustrated
by Eastern
customs and
biblical re-
ferences.

the power of binding and loosing, too, he confers immediately; but to no one but to Peter does he say, "I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom." Now, the first query which arises is this, in what sense must Christ have used these words? and what is the only interpretation which the Apostles, acquainted with the language of the Scripture and of the East, must have attached to them? If the Scriptures, as well as oriental usage, invest him with superiority to whom the keys were delivered, then shall we be forced to allow St. Peter's superiority and primacy. Now, they do this. If we consult *Isaias* xxii, 22, and the *Book of the Revelations* iii, 7, or i, 18, we shall clearly see that the Prophet looked upon the keys as the symbol of authority and government; whilst St. John refers to them to express the sovereign power of Jesus Christ over life and death. The passages are the following:—"And I will lay the key of the house of David upon his shoulders; and he shall open, *and none shall shut*; and he shall shut, *and none shall open*." *Isaias*, l. c. "These things saith the holy one and the true one; he that hath the key of David; he that openeth and no man shutteth; shutteth and no man openeth." *Apoc.* l. c. "I am the first and the last, and alive and was dead, and behold I am living for ever and ever, *and have the keys of death and of hell*." *Apoc.* l. c. Such is the Scriptural use of the terms. But if we go further, and see what has ever been implied by the delivery of keys, either in the East or elsewhere, formerly and now, the evidence will be still more conclusive. Now, as all history tells us, and this is confirmed by modern usages—usages of which any person may become a witness, either in this or in any other country—when the keys of a place are delivered to another, he who receives them is

looked upon as invested with full jurisdiction and power over that city or spot of which the keys have been given up. For examples, on this head I must remit the reader to the standard works on Oriental Customs, or to Cardinal Wiseman's Lecture *On the Supremacy of the Pope*, vol. i, 271. The very learned A. Blackwell has not overlooked, in his defence of the language of the Sacred writings, this allusion to the keys. In vol. i, p. 156, he thus writes:—"Aristophanes says of Juno, whom the Pagan world supposed to be that Deity which presided over the nuptial rites, that she keeps the keys of marriage.¹ *The sacred writer, to show the interest and sovereign power our Saviour has in the future state, says, that he has the keys of hell and paradise.*" To Peter alone Christ said, "I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." Peter, then, alone is supreme; he governs the kingdom. Others may govern in the kingdom; but Peter alone governs the kingdom. Whatever power is exercised, is exercised dependently on him. Such are the words of promise. Let us now consider the language made use of by Jesus Christ when fulfilling his promise:—

"When, therefore, they had dined, Jesus saith to Simon Peter: Simon, son of John, lovest thou me more than these? He saith to him: Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith to him: Feed (βοσκει) my lambs. He saith to him again: Simon, son of John, lovest thou me? He saith to him: Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith to him: Feed (ποιμαίνει) my lambs. He saith to him the third time: Simon, son of John, lovest thou me? Peter was grieved, because he had said to him the third time, Lovest thou me? And he said to him:

Pagan modes
of expres-
sion.

Force of the
expressions
used by
Christ on
fulfilling his
promise.

¹ Κλήδας γάμου φυλάκται.—Thesmorph, 985.

Lord, thou knowest all things : thou knowest that I love thee. He said to him : Feed (βοσκε) my sheep." St. John, xxi. 15—17. Here Christ insists upon the repetition of the expression of greater love. He is not content with hearing the word once, "Lord, thou knowest that I love thee;" he will hear it repeated thrice. Why this greater love, unless a greater privilege was to be given to Peter? After each repetition, a favour is conferred; and this favour is the very gift already promised. Christ had promised to base the Church on Peter; to him he had promised the plenitude of authority over his kingdom, and now he confers the promised gift. Here, as was his custom, he likens the members of his Church, of his kingdom, to a flock of sheep. This *flock* is committed to Peter's charge; not a portion of it, but the whole, is entrusted to him. Lambs and sheep—all are his. His is the task to feed, and his the task to rule: "feed" and "rule," such are the exact terms in which the delivery of the flock was made over to Peter. He is the shepherd of all; all are under him, dependent upon him, and, as such, must hear his voice and obey his will. Language more plain or significant could not be suggested: it bears only one meaning, and that meaning is precisely the one which is involved in the language of Christ's promise, as hitherto explained. There is much force in the word *ποιμαίνε*, used by our Blessed Saviour. This is proved by the German biblical scholar, Jahn, in his *Archæologia*, at great length. "In the Bible," he says, "kings are often called shepherds: this is not a low title; it is sublime and honourable; hence this name is often attributed even to God, who was King of the Hebrews." It is admitted to signify supreme jurisdiction even by the Protestant trans-

Peter the
universal
Shepherd.

Force of the
word Shep-
herd in
Scriptural
language.

lators of the New Testament ; for the words made use of by the Evangelist (St. Matthew ii, 6), ποιμανεῖ τον λαόν μου, are thus Englished : “ For out of thee shall come a governor *that shall RULE my people.*” If the words cited were the only ones ever addressed to Peter, they would go far towards the establishment of his supremacy ; but, placed in juxtaposition with the words of promise, they should assuredly close the lips of every one who is willing to believe in Jesus Christ, and assent to his declarations. In a word, then, Peter is made the foundation of the whole Church : to him is given the symbol of dominion ; to him the whole flock of Christ is entrusted ; hence he is supreme. Not a syllable analagous to these words of Christ ever escaped the lips of our Lord in reference to the other Apostles : to them he never said, You are the rock : to you I give the keys of the kingdom : feed my lambs : feed my sheep : It is vain, then—it is worse—it is blasphemous, to oppose Christ in the person of Peter, under the pretence of exalting James, and Andrew, and John, Thadæus and Bartholomew, and the rest of the Apostolic College. Some may call this opposition a holy zeal ; but saints like a Chrysostom will say of it, ουδὲν χεῖρον : there is nothing worse : they may pretend some good motive, for πρόσωπον χερὶ θέμεν τήλαυγες εὐοφθαλμον—a bad cause must be made to appear pleasant and agreeable : but at the bottom, prejudice of education and hatred of Rome will be found. Let us next examine in what light St. Peter was viewed by the Fathers of the Church. Their evidence will throw still further light on the meaning of our blessed Saviour’s words ; for the belief of the Church is the best exposition of his sayings.

It involves jurisdiction and dominion, evidenced by the Protestant Bible.

To Peter alone Christ uses words denoting supremacy.

Patristic explanations.

The authority of ST. IRENÆUS, who declares that, with Irenæus.

the Church of Rome, on account of a more powerful principality, *every Church must agree*—words which are easily explained, when the primacy of Peter, Bishop of Rome, is admitted—has already been adduced at page 36 : to it I again refer the reader.

Tertullian.

“ Was anything,” says Tertullian, “ hidden from Peter, who was called *the Rock* whereon *the Church* was to be built ; who obtained the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the power of loosing and binding in heaven and on earth ? ”—*De præs. hæc.* n. 22. And in his work entitled *Scorpiace*, he observes, “ If thou thinkest heaven is still closed, remember that the *Lord left here the keys thereof to Peter*, and THROUGH HIM to the Church.”—n. 10.

Origen.

Obscure as Origen oftentimes is, on which account nearly every heretic has claimed him as the supporter of his system,—this obscurity originates in an extraordinary fondness for allegorical interpretations ;—still it is plain, from numerous passages in his writings, that he looked upon St. Peter as the Head of Christ’s Church. “ See what is said by the Lord to that great foundation of the Church, and to the most solid rock, upon which Christ founded the Church : ‘ O, thou of little faith ! why didst thou doubt ? ’ ”—*Hom. v. in Exod.* n. 4. And again : “ Peter, upon whom is built Christ’s Church, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail, has left behind him but one Epistle universally acknowledged.”—*Apud Eus. H. E.* l. vi, c. 25.¹ Finally, in his work on the Epistle to the Romans, he observes : “ When the *chief authority*, as regards the

¹ It is painful to observe how negligent the correctors of the press have been in respect to Father Perrone’s celebrated *Prælectiones Theologicæ*, both in regard of these and numerous other appeals to the Fathers. I refer to the Belgian edition.

feeding of the sheep, was delivered to Peter, and on him, as on the earth, the Church was founded, of no other virtue was the confession required but that of love.”—l. v. in *Ep. ad Rom.* n. 10.

The martyr Bishop of Carthage, ST. CYPRIAN, is most clear on this head. In his letter to Quintus he says: “Custom is not to prescribe, but reason is to conquer. *For not even did Peter, whom the Lord chose to be the first, and upon whom he built his Church,* when Paul afterwards disputed with him regarding circumcision, claim anything to himself insolently, or assume anything arrogantly, so as to say that he held the primacy, and that obedience ought rather to be paid to him by those who were novices, and had come after him. Nor did he despise Paul because he had been originally a persecutor of the Church; but he admitted the counsel of truth, and readily assented to the legitimate reasons which Paul vindicated, giving, to wit, an example to us of unanimity and patience that we may not with pertinacity love what is our own, but rather the things which are at times usefully and beneficially suggested by our brethren and colleagues, to account them, if they be true and lawful, as our own.”—*Ep.* lxxi. The whole argument, the expressions put into Peter’s mouth, all show what Cyprian believed. This is further evidenced in his famous treatise on Unity. Before citing, however, any words, I would observe that I follow the Benedictine edition throughout. This is the only really critical edition; and the editors will satisfy every dispassionate inquirer of the preference which is to be given to their text over that of other copies, if he will only take the trouble to read their reasons. “The Lord says to Peter, I say unto thee, saith he, that thou art Peter,

and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not overcome it ; and to thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven ; and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, shall be bound," &c. *Upon that one (Peter) he builds his Church, and to him he assigns his sheep to be fed.* And although to all the Apostles, after his resurrection, he gives an equal power, and says, As the father sent me even so I send you ; *receive ye the Holy Ghost*, &c., yet, in order to manifest unity, he has, by his own authority, so placed the origin of that same unity, that it begins from one. Certainly the other Apostles, also, were what Peter was, endowed with an equal fellowship, both of honour and power, but *the commencement proceeds from unity, and this primacy is given to Peter*, that the Church of Christ may be set forth as one, and the Chair as one. . . . He who holds not this unity of the Church, does he think that he holds the faith ? He who strives against and resists the Church, he who abandons the Chair of Peter, upon whom the Church was founded, does he feel confident that he is in the Church ?"—*De Unitate*, p. 397. Several, I know, blunder sadly over this passage. They pass over what is clear, and puzzle themselves about what to them is obscure ; and, thus puzzled, they have by their writings endeavoured to perplex others. To the careful reader, to one who has studied the writings of St. Cyprian, the passage is plain enough. The Saint then maintains that all the Apostles, after the resurrection, received an equal power when Christ said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost ;" and that, consequently, what Peter was, they were. Still 2º, this did not prevent Christ from giving something singular to Peter, something distinct from the common Apostolate, and this was, constituting him

Illustration
of St. Cyprian's mode
of expressing
himself.

the principle of unity ; conferring on him the primacy ; building on him alone the Church, and to him entrusting the care of the whole flock. This primacy was established as the bulwark of faith, and as the mark by which every one was to be known to be a member of the Church. In purely apostolic gifts, then, the Apostles were all equal ; but one who was an Apostle was above all his fellows, because on him the gift of headship over the rest had been conferred. This is the obvious meaning of the passage—a meaning which is perfectly conformable with that which St. Cyprian elsewhere expresses over and over again in the plainest language.

For extracts from *St. Peter of Alexandria and Eusebius*, see page 11, as above. The BISHOP OF NISIBIS, ST. JAMES, who was one of the 318 who assisted at the Council of Nice, thus writes of St. Peter :—" And Simon, *the head* of the Apostles, he who denied Christ, saying, '*I saw him not*,' and cursed and swore that *he knew him not*, as soon as he offered unto God contrition and repentance, and washed his sins in the tears of his sorrow, our Lord received and made him the foundation, and called him the rock of the edifice of the Church."—*Orat. vii, de pæn.* n. 6. The Sainted Orsiesius entitles Peter "the Prince of the Apostles ;"¹ and HILARY OF POICTIERS calls him "the foundation of the Church," "the door-keeper of the heavenly kingdom," and "in his judgment on earth a judge in heaven."² Again : he says that "Peter was Prince of Apostleship,"³ "the rock on which the Church was to be built."⁴

St. James of Nisibis.

Orsiesius.

St. Hilary.

St. Optatus says : "Thou canst not then deny but thou

¹ Doct. de instit. mon. n. 17, tom. v, Galland.

² Trac. in Ps. cxxxi, n. 4.

³ Comm. in Matt. c. 7, n. 6.

⁴ Tract. in Ps. cxli, n. 8.

St. Optatus. knowest that, in the City of Rome, on Peter the first was the Apostolic Chair conferred, wherein Peter sat, the head of all the Apostles ; whence, also, he was called Cephas ; that in that one Chair unity might be preserved by all, nor the other Apostles each contend for a Chair for himself ; and that whoever should set up another Chair against the ONE Chair, should be at once a schismatic and a sinner.”—*De Schism. Donat.* l. ii, n. 2.

St. Ephrem. The pious-minded and orthodox EPHREM has often expressed his feelings in reference to the head of the Church. Writing against heretics who had imposed their own names on their followers, he says : “ Have they not even had respect for the sentence of the Apostle, who condemns such as say, *I am of Cephas ?* Now, if it was the duty of the sheep to refuse (to bear) even the name of Cephas, although he was *the prince of the Apostles*, and *had received the keys*, and was *accounted the shepherd of the flock*, what execration is to be considered too dreadful for him who fears not to designate sheep that are not his by his own name ? ”—T. ii, Serm. lvi, *Adv. Hær.* Again : “ We hail thee, Peter, the tongue of the disciples, the voice of the heralds, the eye of the Apostles, the first-born of those that bear the keys.”—In *SS. Apost.* p. 464.

St. Epiphanius. ST. EPIPHANIUS thus observes : “ Andrew met with Christ before Peter, who was younger. But later, when that perfect renunciation of all things took place on their parts, from Peter was the beginning made. For then he became a leader unto his own Brother ; and add this also, that God knows the dispositions of the heart, and, knowing who is worthy *to be appointed unto precedence*, he *also chose Peter* to be the leader of his disciples, as has been clearly shown.”—T. i, *Adv. Hær.* (51) p. 440.

The writings of ST. AMBROSE abound in passages to the

same effect. "It is that same Peter to whom Christ said, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church.* Therefore, *where Peter is, there is the Church*; where the Church is, there death is not, but life eternal."—In *Ps.* xl, n. 30. Again: "Peter is grieved because he is asked the third time, *Lovest thou me?* For he is questioned, who is doubted; but the Lord does not doubt; and he inquires not to learn, but to teach, now that he is about to be raised to heaven, whom he was leaving unto us, as it were, the Vicar of his own love. For thus have you it: 'Simon, son of John, lovest thou me? Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. Jesus saith to him, Feed my sheep.' Who else could readily make this profession for himself? And, therefore, because he alone amongst all makes this profession, he is preferred before all, for love is greater than all. . . . And now he is not ordered, as at first, to feed his lambs, nor his younger sheep, as in the second instance, but his sheep, that the more perfect may govern the more perfect."—In *Luc.* l. xv, 175-6. Finally, he tell us that Christ "*gave the kingdom to Peter, and pointed him out as the foundation of the Church, when he called him a rock.*"—l. iv, c. v, n. 56.

St. Ambrose.

ST. JEROME, writing against the Pelagians, thus bears evidence to the faith of his times: "But you say that the Church is built upon Peter, though, in another place, the same thing is done upon all the Apostles, and all receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the strength of the Church is settled equally upon them; yet, for this reason, *one is chosen out of the twelve, that, a head being appointed, the occasion of schism may be removed.* But why was not John, the virgin, chosen? Deference was paid to age, seeing that Peter was older; lest one yet a

St. Jerome.

youth, and almost a boy, should be set above men of advanced age.”—*Adv. Jovin.* n. 26. And over and over again St. Peter is styled “the Prince of the Apostles.”—*Contra. Pelag.* n. 14, n. 22. *Et alibi passim.*

ST. CHRYSOSTOM is particularly emphatic in speaking and writing about Peter. “After so great an evil (as the denial of his Lord), Christ again raised him to his former honour, and entrusted to his hand the primacy¹ over the universal Church.”

St. Chrysostom uses every kind of phrase implying Sovereignty.

“Great was God’s consideration towards this city (Antioch), as he manifested by deeds, inasmuch as he *who was set over the whole habitable globe*; he *in whose hands he placed the keys of heaven*; him *to whom he entrusted the doing and supporting all things*; him he ordered to tarry here for a long time.”—In *St. Ign. Mart.* n. 4. “See how Paul speaks after Peter, and no one restrains: James waits, and starts not up; for he (Peter) it was to whom had been entrusted the sovereignty.”—*Hom.* xxxiii, in *Act. App.* Cf. *Hom.* ii, in *Ep. ad Rom.* for the meaning of ἀρχή, here made use of by the Saint. And with Chrysostom, the following terms became ordinary expressions in reference to Peter:—“Peter, the leader of the choir of the Apostles;” “the mouth of the disciples;” “the pillar of the Church;” “the buttress of the faith;” “the foundation of the confession;” “the fisherman of the universe.”—*Hom.* ii, in *Inscrip. Act.* n. 4. See, also, *Hom.* lxxxviii, in *Joan.* n. 1.

ST. AUSTIN thus energetically defends the Primacy:—

St. Austin.

“Of this Church, Peter the Apostle, *on account of the primacy of the Apostleship*, bore a character which

¹ Τὴν ἐπιστάσιν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκκλησίας ἐνεχίρῃσε.

represented the whole Church. For as to what personally regards him, he was, by nature, but one man ; by grace, one Christian ; by a more abundant grace, one, and that the first, Apostle ; but when there was said to him, ' I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind,' &c. he signified the whole Church, which in this world is by divers trials, as it were by rains, rivers, and tempests, agitated, but falls not, because it was built upon the rock, whence Peter derived his name."—*Tract. cxxiv, in Joan. n. 5.* After this, St. Augustin treats on the derivation of the word Peter, and blunders sadly as an etymologist : but this does not affect his testimony ; for his evidence is adduced in testification, *not of the learning, but of the faith*, of the fourth century ; and what that faith was, the citation already alleged abundantly proves. In his *Retractions*, he alludes to his double explanation of the text *Tu es Petrus*, and at the end says, " Let the reader choose whichever of these opinions he deems the most probable." Hence he did not consider either interpretation wrong in faith ; and hence, again, it is plain that the interpretation which made Peter the rock on which the Church was built, was conformable to Catholic belief.²

Origin of
St. Austin's
doubts
about the
literal mean-
ing of
Christ's
words.

² Great stress is often laid, by Protestants, on the different interpretations of St. Matthew xvi. 18, occasionally given by St. Augustin and other Fathers of the Church. Sometimes Christ is said to be the rock on which the Church is built, and sometimes St. Peter ; whilst, again, that faith in the divinity of our Lord, which St. Peter gave expression to, is by others made the basis and the rock of the spiritual structure. From these varying interpretations, it is clear that the Fathers neither always agree with one another as Commentators, nor always adhere to the literal meaning of the written word. But is it fair hence to infer either a denial of, or disagreement in, doctrine ? Assuredly not. Firm and one in faith, the Fathers may, and do, interpret variously, texts which regard the

St. Peter is called by ST. ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM, "the coryphæus of the choir of the Apostles."—l. 1, *Epis.* cxlii.

eternal generation and consubstantiality of the Son; the personality, divinity, and procession of the Holy Spirit; the greatest of mysteries, the mystery of the adorable Trinity; and other doctrines of the Church. As Catholic writers now vary in their proofs,—one looking upon this text as sufficiently conclusive, whilst another prefers that—so was it formerly. But as now faith precedes writing and sifting of biblical evidence, so it did in ancient times. Whatever, then, may have been the *textuary proofs* of St. Peter's supremacy, one thing is clear, that supremacy was uniformly and unhesitatingly admitted. Some will prove it from Matt. xvi, 18; others from the famous words of our divine Saviour, recorded in St. John's gospel, xxi, 15—17; and others from other passages which seem to them more conclusive. Their proofs may vary, but their faith was one, as we have already seen.

Extent of
the modifi-
cation of his
words.

As I have observed in the text, St. Augustin does not in his *Retractions* decide on the meaning of the text in St. Matthew. All that he does is this: he states what had been his *interpretations* of the passage, and thus leaves the reader to choose that which seems to him the most probable. Since one of these meanings was this, that St. Peter was the rock on which the Church was raised, St. Augustine could not have considered such an interpretation opposed to any principle of faith.

On critical grounds alone did St. Augustine hesitate about the meaning of the words in St. Matthew. He thought, to use his own words, that "the rock (*Petra*) was not so called after Peter (*Petrus*), but Peter was called after the rock; just as Christ is not so denominated after the Christian, but the Christian after Christ. For on this account does the Lord say, *On this rock I will build my Church*, because Peter had said, *Thou art Christ*, &c. On this rock, then, which thou hast confessed, I will build my Church; for Christ was the Rock, on whose foundation even Peter himself was built." Behold the grounds of his doubt, and of his willingness to abandon the exposition of his master, St. Ambrose, which was chaunted by the mouths of so many. He looks upon *Petra* as the primitive word, and on *Petrus* as a derivation. Now, how false this is, every scholar knows and admits. Even Kuinoel and Rosenmüller, *in l.*, as well as Neander (*Ecc. Hist.* vol. iii. 238), not to speak of Catholic and other expositors of the New Testament, admit the mistake of the African Doctor, resultant from his ignorance of Hebrew and Aramæan, and advocate the Catholic explanation, as far as the words regard Peter and not Christ.

Little did he, who pointed to the holy See as one of the marks of the Church, imagine that his authority would be appealed to against that See by the fautors of an Anglican and insular establishment.

And this title is given him also by ANDREW OF CÆSAREA, *Com. in cap. xiii, Apoc.*; by CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *Hom. in Myst. Cæn.* p. 376; by THEODORET, *in Ps. ii* (bis); by ST. PROCLUS, *Orat. viii, in. Dom. Transfig.*; and by ST. BASIL OF SELEUCIA, *Orat. xvi*, p. 97, and *Orat. xxv*, p. 138. Several other Fathers' evidence.

“Let Peter, says ST. PETER CHRYSOLOGUS, hold his long-established primacy over the Apostolic Chair; let him open the kingdom of heaven for those who enter in; let him with power bind the guilty, with clemency absolve the penitent.”—*Serm. cliv.* St. Peter Chrysol.

ST. LEO the Great thus vigorously opposes all opposition to the powers centred in the Chair of Peter:—“The Lord willed the Sacrament of this office to pertain to all the Apostles in such manner as that he placed it principally in the blessed Apostle Peter, the highest of all (the Apostles), and wishes his gifts to flow on the whole body from him (Peter) as from a head; so that he might know himself to be an alien from the divine mystery, whoever should have dared to withdraw from the firmness (solidity) of Peter. For it was his will that this man, whom he had taken into the fellowship of an indivisible unity, should be named that which himself was, by saying, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, that the building of the everlasting temple might, by the marvellous gift of the grace of God, be compacted together in the solidity of Peter, by this firmness strengthening his Church, so that neither human temerity should be able to injure it, *nor the gates of hell prevail against it.* But that man, with surpassing impious presumption, goes about to violate this most sacred firmness constructed by God, who was, as we have said, the builder of this rock;” St. Leo.

who tries to infringe on his power by pandering to his own desires, and by not following what he has received from his ancestors; when himself subject to no law, restrained by no rules of the Lord's institution, he departs, through the ambition of a novel usurpation, from our and your custom, by taking upon him things unlawful, and by neglecting those things which he ought to observe.... Hilary, about to disturb this line of conduct, which has ever been (of having recourse to Rome) by our fathers, both laudibly adhered to, and beneficially preserved, and about to trouble the state of the Churches and the concord of the Priests, has departed (from Rome), desiring so to subject you to his own power, as not to suffer himself to be subject to the blessed Apostle Peter, claiming to himself the ordination of all the Churches throughout the Gauls, and transferring to his own dignity that which is due to the metropolitan priests; by lessening, also, with arrogant words, the reverence (due) to the most blessed Peter, to whom, while the power of binding and loosing was given him beyond the others, yet was the care of the sheep more especially consigned. To whom whoever thinks that the primacy is to be denied, he can in no wise lessen the dignity of Peter, but, puffed up with the spirit of his own pride, he sinks himself down into hell."—*Ep. x, ad Episc. per prov. Vienn.* p. 633—5.

Effects of
denying St.
Peter's su-
premacy.

Such is a synopsis and a brief digest of the opinions and belief of the leading prelates of the primitive Church relative to the Primacy of St. Peter. To limit and not to extend this line of evidence has been a source of difficulty; for at every turn the Fathers of the East and West speak of Blessed Peter in terms of unmistakable import. Necessarily this proof will be extended in our next chapter; for

there we shall have to speak of Peter's successors. We shall have to hear why the Roman See was the great, principal, and ruling See—the See of power and supremacy—the See to which every one was bound to be united—the See out of which there was no Catholicity. We shall likewise have to behold the Pontiffs of Rome exercising their power over the East and the West—over Churches far, far removed from Rome; we shall witness an incessant appeal to this See, and at every turn we shall be informed that the Roman See was supreme on account of Peter; and that all obeyed the Pontiff because he held the place of Peter. In the interim, let these proofs suffice; they are, in fact, demonstrative; for if they be read with care, they will be found to contain every kind of expression in reference to St. Peter which can convey the idea of spiritual supremacy—of a power over the whole Church, and an elevation of one Apostle over all other Apostles; though on all the rest of the Apostolic College great gifts indeed had been conferred by Christ. What can be more striking than the following declarations?—

Rome supreme on account of St. Peter.

Peter is the rock, the foundation;

the solid rock, the great foundation.

To him the keys of the kingdom were granted;

to him the sheep were assigned, and

He is the universal Shepherd.

He is the pillar of the Church,

the buttress of the faith, and

the principle, the source of unity.

He is the eye of the Apostles;

the mouth of the Apostles;

the tongue of the Apostles;

the head of the Apostles;

Synopsis of the titles applied to St. Peter by the Fathers already adduced.

Peter is the highest of the Apostles ;
 the coryphæus of the Choir of the Apostles ;
 the Prince of the Apostles ;
 a leader to his own Brother ;
 the one chosen out of the twelve ;
 the one preferred before all ;
 the one who has the primacy of the Apostleship ;
 and the primacy over the universal Church.
 He is set over the whole habitable globe.
 He is the fisherman of the universe.
 He represents the whole Church.
 In fine, he has received the sovereignty.

Continuation of the titles given to St. Peter.

These titles stronger than any applied to our English kings or queens.

If language like this be equivocal, then it must be a sadly defective medium for the communication of ideas. Plainly as the sovereignty of the English Queen is recognised in this kingdom and elsewhere, I durst throw out a challenge to the best informed in royal titles, to produce from *a class of writers comparable in any way* to those cited, and from whom we have culled the few expressions already adduced, a string of terms, written expressly in vindication of the sovereignty, more striking or more significant than those specified. At all events, I shall be sceptical on this head, until I see some person attempt this. But if a list of terms equally striking can be adduced, I ask, Do they establish the prerogatives of our monarchy? If not, what will? But if they do, how can the evidence of the good and the wise of the East and the West be honestly rejected when equally strong terms are applied by them to the head of the Church, St. Peter?

Chapter the Third.

CONTENTS.

The Church to exist on one, because originally based on one—The Roman Pontiff, the Successor of St. Peter, is the foundation, the basis of the Church in all times.—The Protestant mode of proving the Prelacy proves the Primacy too.—The existence of the Popedom is, all circumstances considered, a proof of its divinity.—The Primacy further proved by a cloud of ecclesiastical witnesses—By notorious facts showing how the Popes exercised their power in the East and West in the Paschal, Baptismal, Arian, Nestorian, Pelagian, and other Controversies—Proved again by the Convocation &c. of Councils—And by the Appeals made to Rome by the East and West, both by Catholics and men of Heterodox principles.—Summary of Evidence, all in favour of Rome, nothing in favour of English pretensions.—Not as much extrinsic Evidence for several books of the New Testament as for the Primacy of Rome.—Definition of the Council of Florence; and declaration contained in the profession of faith of Pope Pius.

Primacy of the Popes—the Successors of St. Peter in the Roman See.

THE Church of Christ was not to be a changeling. When our Lord established it, the law of types, figures, and longings ceased, to give way to a law of realities, truths, and realisations. The secrets of God were then made manifest, and the fulness of revelation was communicated. There was nothing more to be fulfilled; there was nothing then to be changed. Christ yesterday, to-day, and for ever was to be the standing and enduring motto of the new law. This Christ significantly expressed. He sent

Christianity
the realization
of prophecy.

forth his Apostles to preach ; but there was only one term to their mission and to this handing down of doctrine ; they were to evangelise all nations, and evangelising they were to have Christ with them ALL THE DAYS, *even unto the consummation of the world*¹—they were to be aided by the abiding influence of *the Paraclete, the spirit of truth, for ever* ;² and this spirit was through them *to teach all the truth*. Opposition will have to be encountered ; earth and hell will conspire against the heavenly structure, but there is no cause for fear or alarm ; for the Church is based upon a rock, and against it not even the might and power of fallen angels shall prevail,³ great as is that power, greater by far than that of all earthly influences.

The Church
to continue
as originally
constituted.

Hence though James and John, Matthew and Matthias, and the rest of the heavenly commissioned, may pass away, their ministry will endure, and through this ministry the teaching shall go on of all nations, and the Church shall be perpetuated. Peter, grown old, shall be led by others whither he would not, but when he shall be crucified the rock shall stand. His successor shall bear the weight of the sacred structure, and shall feed the lambs and sheep committed originally and in the first place to Peter's care ; even as others shall take the place and contract the responsibilities of the Apostolic College. As the sovereign here never dies, so Peter never dies, and Apostles never die ; they are ever ruling, feeding, teaching, doing the work of the ministry. Even Protestants admit this reason-

The Protest-
ant proof of
the hier-
archy.

ing in reference to the ministry in general. Thus they prove the continuance of the Episcopacy, and of the other grades of the hierarchy : they cannot consistently abandon this reasoning in the one case of Peter. If the reasoning

¹ Matt. xxviii, 18—20.

² John xiv, 16—18.

³ Matt. xvi, 18.

avail not for the rock, it will not avail for the Church of the rock; if it avail not for the shepherd of the sheep and the lambs, it will not avail for the Episcopal order which is to teach all nations to the end of time. The Episcopal Church falls if this rock be removed. Christ based his Church upon one rock, as we have already proved, that his Church might be one. The oneness of the heavenly fabric was made dependent on the unity of the foundation, to use the emphatic language of Saints Cyprian, Optatus, and Jerome, already adduced; hence since the Church is always to be one, for it is always to be the Church which Christ established and Apostles built up, the foundation is to be always one. If from the earliest moments a principle of unity was requisite, much more will it be required when all nations have had the gospel preached to them. Add to this that the Church is a kingdom, and a kingdom has one supreme head to govern it; that it is a flock, and the flock has a shepherd to guard it, &c.; and it will be admitted that the supremacy of one is essential to the very existence of the Church. And is not this proved even by the very existence of that line of Pastors in the Chair of Rome, which, as I have already shown from the Catalogues of the Bishops of that See, and from numerous other monuments, has always been admitted to be the line of Peter's successors? For why does it exist when dynasties and kingdoms, and languages and customs, have passed away. Why does it continue great, and powerful, and energetic—above the reach of man's policy, and man's tyranny, and man's crimes, though seemingly so devoid *in itself* of a principle of vitality and power? Why are the eyes of a world turned, as it were, ever Romeward? What power fascinates, or what spell binds

Object and end of the supremacy.

The perpetuity of the Popedom, all things considered, a proof of its divine origin.

men when Rome's name is mentioned? There is only one way of explaining this fact, and the explanation is this:—God established this line to exist for ever; hence man and time labour in vain to destroy it. The *wish* of Christ is manifested fully in the events of the Papacy which fill up the history of 1800 years.

The Roman Pontiffs the heirs of Peter's supremacy,

We will now proceed to the exposition of the sentiments of the leading prelates and ecclesiastical writers, as also to the development of some of the more remarkable facts of the early history of Christianity relative to the belief and admission of the principle that the supremacy of St. Peter was to be perpetuated in the Church, and, as a matter of fact, that the Roman Pontiffs, who are the direct successors of St. Peter as Bishops of Rome, are the Prelates who enjoy this supremacy.

Proved from St. Clement.

From St. Clement, who was ordained by St. Peter, and who governed with Linus the Holy See during St. Peter's absence¹ from Rome, we can gather that Rome was the See to which even the distant Churches of Greece appealed in cases of difficulty. In his first Epistle to the Corinthians, he thus refers to their appeal to him, and the causes of his delay:—"On account of calamities and adverse events which have befallen us, we seem, beloved, to have turned our minds too late to those things which you have inquired after."—*Epis. i, ad Cor. n. 1.* Why does Corinth, it may be asked, consult Rome; and why does the Pontiff send his ambassadors to allay the differences which had arisen in the time of Clement? and why do these ambassadors hasten back to communicate the happy termination of those disagreements, which was certainly done as is evident again from the following words of St.

¹ See this ably proved by Papebroch.

Clement :—"Those who have been sent to you by us—Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Bito, together with Fortunatus also—send back to us again, with all speed, in peace and with joy, that they may the sooner acquaint us with your peace and unanimity, so much prayed for and desired by us, so that we, also, may speedily rejoice at your good order."—l. c, n. 59. Surely the neighbouring prelates would have naturally been more interested in the restoration of peace to the Church of Corinth than the Roman Pontiff, and on them rather than on him would have devolved the obligation of advising, correcting, consoling, and sending messengers. Still of the neighbouring Churches there is no mention made. They neither correct nor console, nor send messengers, nor rejoice at the change of conduct of the Corinthian Church, as far as evidence goes : the only one who does this is Clement, the Bishop of Rome. To the man of faith, the cause of the Roman Pontiff's care and interference is plain. If it be involved in obscurity to some, then some are in darkness—they are blind : the heavenly light on such has no illuminating influence. Of this same Clement's interest with, and power over, the Churches, we have evidence in the famous work of *Hermas*, who was not, as some have falsely fancied,² brother to St. Pius I, Bishop of Rome in the year 158, for he flourished long prior to Pius' Pontificate, being—as Origen,³ Eusebius,⁴ and St. Jerome,⁵ who only hand

Cause of the appeal of, Corinth to Rome.

Hermas, who he was.

² Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Med. Œv.* tom. iii, p. 853, owing to the discovery of an ancient fragment at Rome, containing a list of the canonical books of the Roman Church, in which Hermas is called the brother of Pius, led the public to adopt the opinion. It is perfectly false.

³ Origen in Ep. ad Rom. xvi, 14.

⁴ H. E. iii, 3.

⁵ Catal. c. 10. Hermas, cujus Apostolus, Paulus, ad Romanos scribens meminit, asserunt auctorem esse libri, qui appellatur Pastor.

Clement's
privilege.

down the belief of their times, the Hermas whom St. Paul salutes in his Epistle to the Romans. This Hermas, in his second vision, thus writes:—"Thou shalt write two books, one to *Clement* and one to Grapta. But *Clement* shall send (them) into the other cities; *for to him this is permitted.*"¹—l. i, vis. ii, n. 4. Here the woman of the vision (the Church) reveals to Hermas certain moral directions relating to internal purity and chastity. These truths are to be sent written to two persons. One of them is Clement the Roman Pontiff; and this Clement is to communicate them to others, because such is his privilege. These observations have only one tendency. To the first Christians the allusion must have been plain, as it is still plain to the Catholics. One word more must have been useless to them, just as any addition to his words when alluding to Jewish rites and Jewish doctrines would have been useless, on the part of our Saviour, to the Jew who listened to his addresses. A hint, an allusion, on the part of Christ, sufficed, when referring to doctrines universally acknowledged, and to rites universally practised. And a similar observation is applicable to the doctrines of Christianity, when known and accredited, such as we have already shown, and still further shall prove the doctrine of the supremacy of Rome to have been.

The words of
Hermas
easily under-
stood.

ST. IGNATIUS, the illustrious martyr of Antioch, makes use of such language, in reference to Rome, as has arrested the attention of nearly every writer of eminence. In his Epistle to the Romans, he thus addresses that Church:—

¹ The words underlined are not in the Greek. But every one knows that the Greek text is exceedingly imperfect; whilst the Latin is most ancient and more complete. The Latin text is *Illi enim permissum est.*—See Cotell. in l. c.

“ Ignatius, who is also Theophorus, to the Church which hath found mercy in the majesty of the Father most High, and of Jesus Christ his only Son, (to the Church) beloved and enlightened in the will of him who willeth all things which are according to the love of Jesus Christ our God, and which (Church) *presides* in the region of the Romans all godly, all gracious, all blessed, all praised, all prospering, all hallowed, and *presiding*² in love, with the name of Christ, with the name of the Father,” &c.—*Epist. ad Rom.*

n. 1. As I have observed in the Note below, the term involving presidency is peculiar to Rome. It is not applied to the Churches of Philippi, of Smyrna, or of Ephesus, illustrious as were these Churches, nor to the Churches of the Magnesians, Philadelphians, or Trallians: it is only when writing to the Church of Rome that his style alters, and every expression is made use of indicative of the elevation, holiness, power, and authority of that Church. To me it appears clear that, throughout the entire

The phraseology applied to Rome singularly distinctive.

² *Πρόκαθεται* . . . *Πρόκαθήμενη τῆς ἀγαπῆς*. In his other Epistles, he speaks of the Church which *is*, and not which *presides*: *τῇ ὄντι*, or *παροικύοντι*, not *τῇ πρόκαθήμενῃ*. The illustrious Mœlher makes the following just observation:—“ Il ne bornoit nullement sa notion de l'union chretienne aux membres d'une seule communauté, il embrassait tous les fidèles dans une seule et même unité. C'est avec cette notion que se produit l'expression de *ἐκκλησια καθολικη* qui parait chez lui pour la première fois (ad Smyr. c. 8), et c'est ce qui explique cette autre expression qu'il emploie en saluant l'église de Rome du titre de *πρόκαθήμενη τῆς ἀγαπῆς*; en y reconnaît le centre du grand cercle qui embrasse et unit toute la chrétienté, et dont, du reste, nous aurons plus bas l'occasion de parler encore.”—Mœlher's *Patrologie*, vol. i, p. 103. *Ed. Cohen*. 1844. The three volumes are deserving of the most careful perusal and study. I have not as yet seen the edition of St. Ignatius' Epistles published by Cureton; nor do I know if, in this abbreviated form, there is any change in this Epistle to the Romans. At all events, the previously published critical edition has not been given up for the new one by the great bulk of scholars and critics of the nineteenth century.

Mœlher's observations

Epistle, there is the most formal acknowledgment of Rome's authority; and of this I will adduce a proof or two in a note.¹

ST. IRENÆUS' authority has already been adduced. He distinctly states that "*it is necessary* that every Church should resort to (or agree with) the Church of Rome, on account of its more powerful principality." See his words cited at page 36, of this volume. We have also produced the testimony of Tertullian, who speaks of the Church of Rome as "an authority which is at hand" (see page 9), and who even, in a burst of anti-Catholic indignation and bitter satire, cannot but call the Roman Pontiff "the chief Pontiff and the Bishop of Bishops," so well known was the Roman Bishop's primacy and pre-eminence. "I hear," he says, "that an edict is gone forth, and a peremptory one, indeed; to wit, the chief Pontiff²—that is, the Bishop of Bishops—proclaims, 'I discharge, to those who have done penance, the crimes both of adultery and fornication.'"—*De pud.* n. 1.

St. Irenæus.

Tertullian's
strong lan-
guage.

ST. CYPRIAN says: "Cornelius was made Bishop (of Rome) by the judgment of God and his Christ, by the testimony of almost all the clergy, by the suffrage of the people who were present, at a time when no one had been made (Bishop) before him; when the place of Fabian—that is, when the place of Peter, and the grade of the sacerdotal

St. Cyprian's
test of ortho-
doxy.

¹ Speaking (at p. 92 of Usher's edition), he says:—"Οὐδέποτε ἑξασκα-
νατε οὐδένα, ἀλλοις ἐδιδάξατε. ἐγὼ δὲ θείω, ἵνα κἀκεῖνα βίβαια ᾗ, ἃ μαθη-
τεύοντες ἐντέλλεσθε." Again at p. 99:—"Μνημονεύετε ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ
ὑμῶν τῆς ἐν Συρία ἐκκλησίας, ἥτις ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ ποιμενὶ τῷ θεῷ χρῆται. μόνος
αὐτὴν Ἰησοῦς χριστὸς ἐπισκοπήσαι, καὶ ἡ ὑμῶν ἀγαπή." This teaching, com-
manding, &c. of Rome; this commending to Christ and to Rome only,
the widowed Church of Smyrna, have all the same tendency and meaning.

² "Pontifex scilicet Maximus, Episcopus Episcoporum dicit."

Chair—was vacant which, having been filled by the will of God, and ratified by the consent of all of us, whosoever after that would be made Bishop, he must needs be made so *without*; nor has he ordination of the Church who holds not the unity of the Church. Whosoever he be, though greatly boasting of himself, and claiming very much for himself, he is profane, he is an alien, he is without. And as after the first there cannot be a second, whosoever has been made after the one who ought to be alone, he is no longer the second, but none at all.”—*Ep. lii, ad Antonian*. And again, in the same letter, he observes: “You, Antonianus, wrote, also, that I should transmit a copy of the same letter to our colleague Cornelius, that, having laid aside all anxiety, he might at length know that you *communicate with him—that is, with the Catholic Church*.”

He is in communion with the Church who is in communion with the Pope.

Writing to Cornelius, Cyprian calls the Roman See “the principal rock of the Church;” “the matrix of all Churches, whence sacerdotal unity took its rise.”³

The whole address of POPE JULIUS to the Arian faction is unmistakeable. “Oh, beloved! the judgments of the Church are no longer in accordance with the Gospel, but are (by you Arians) to the inflicting of exile and death. For even though any transgression had been committed, as you pretend, by these men, the judgment ought to have been in accordance with the ecclesiastical canon, and not thus. It behoved you to write to all of us, that thus what was just might be decreed by all. For they who suffered were Bishops, and the Churches that suffered no common ones, over which the Apostles ruled in person. And why were we not written to concerning the Church, especially of Alexandria? or are you ignorant that this has

Pope Julius,

³ Ep. lv. and xlv. ad Corn.

his ideas relative to the obligation of referring in the first place, to Rome.

been the custom first to write to us, and thus what is just be decreed from this place? If, therefore, any such suspicion fell upon the Bishop there, it was befitting to write to this Church. But now they who acquainted us not, but did what they themselves chose, proceed to wish us, though unacquainted with facts, to become supporters of their views. Not thus were Paul's ordinances; not thus have the Fathers handed down to us: this is another form, and a new institution. Bear with me cheerfully, I beseech you, for what I write is for the common weal. For what we have received from that blessed Apostle Peter, the same do I make known to you; and these things I would not have written to you, deeming them manifest to you all, had not what has been done confounded us."—*Ep. ad Eusebian.* n. 21. *Apud Galland.* t. v. p. 13.

St. Hilary.

ST. HILARY OF POICTIERS thus refers to Rome:—"This will be seen to be best, and by far the most befitting thing, if to the head, that is, to the See of the Apostle Peter, the priests of the Lord report (or refer) from every one of the provinces."—*Frag.* ii, n. 9, p. 629.

The words of OPTATUS we have already adduced, as also those of EUSEBIUS: see pp. 39 and 40.

POPE DAMASUS, in his reply to the synodical letter from the Council of Constantinople, in which it is said, "Manifesting brotherly love towards us, and assembling in Council, by the will of God at Rome, you have also, by letters from the Emperor, invited us as your own members," thus addresses the prelates of the East:—"Most honoured children, whereas your friendliness bestows on the Apostolic See the fitting reverence, it shall redound greatly to your honour. For although, especially in this Holy Church, the Holy Apostle sitting therein, taught in

what way it beseems us to manage the helm which has been put into our hands, yet we confess ourselves unequal to the honour; but, therefore, we strive in every way, if it may be, that we may be able to attain to the glory of that blessedness. Know, therefore, that long since we de-<sup>Damasus
deposes
Timothius.</sup>posed the profane Timotheus, the disciple of the heretic Apollinaris, with his impious doctrine. . . . Why, then, do you again require from me the deposition of this same man, who even here, by the judgment of the Apostolic See, whilst Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, was also present was deposed, together with his master, Apollinaris?"—*Ep. ix, Synod Orient. apud Gall. t. vi.*¹

ST. AMBROSE ever evinces his belief in the successor of St. Peter's See being possessed of Peter's power and authority. "Thou, O Lord! didst say to Peter, when he excused himself from thy washing his feet, '*If I wash thee not thou shalt not have any part with me.*' What, fellowship, then, can these Novatians have with thee—men who receive not the keys of the kingdom, and who deny that they ought to forgive sins? Which is, indeed, rightly acknowledged on their part: *for they have not Peter's inheritance who have not Peter's Chair.*"—*De Pœnit. l. i, c. vi, n. 33.* And, in replying to the letter of Pope Siricius, who had commanded Jovinian and others to be excommunicated by the Church at Milan, he says: "We have recognised in the letter of your Holiness the watchfulness of the good shepherd, for thou dost faithfully keep the gate entrusted to thee, and dost guard, with pious solicitude, the fold of Christ—worthy, indeed, that the Lord's sheep should hear and follow thee. . . . Those, therefore, whom your Holiness has condemned, know that amongst us, also, they<sup>St. Ambrose
calls the
Pontiff the
guardian of
Christ's
fold.

and con-
demns those
condemned
by Rome.</sup>

¹ For the original text, which is very obscure, the reader may consult Theod. H. E. l. v, c. x. Also see Tillemont, St. Damas. § 13.

have been, according to your judgment, condemned.”—*Ep.* xcii, *Siricio*.

St. Siricius
calls Rome
the head.

POPE SIRICIUS, to whom the previous extract was addressed, knew evidently the responsibility of his trust. He says that “it is incumbent there should be in himself a greater zeal for the Christian religion than was possessed by all other persons. . . . I bear the burthens of all who are heavily laden ; or rather in me that burthen is borne by the blessed Apostle Peter, who, we trust, in all things protects, and has regard to us, who are the heirs of his administration.” He bids all priests observe the regulations he had made, “who did not wish to be rent from that solid Apostolic rock upon which Christ had constructed the universal Church ;” and if he allude to appeals to Rome, he speaks thus plainly : “You have referred to the Church of Rome as to the *head* of your body.”—*Ep.* i, *ad Himer. Tarrac. Epis.* n. 1—3—20.

St. Anastasius’ solicitude for all the Churches

Another Pope, *Pope Anastasius*, gives expression to the same idea of universal care and solicitude. “Assuredly care shall not be wanting on my part to guard the faith of the gospel in my people ; and to visit by letter, as far as I am able, the members of my body through the various countries of the world, to prevent any beginning of a profane interpretation from creeping in,” &c.—*Ep.* i, *ad Joan. Hierosol.* n. 5, *apud Galland.* t. viii.

Mark, again, the language of a learned secretary of a Pontiff of Rome in the hour of trouble. I refer to ST. JEROME. “As the East, vexed with internal discord, with all the habitual frenzy of that people, is tearing into shreds the seamless garment of the Lord, and the foxes lay waste Christ’s vineyard, so that among the broken cisterns that hold no water it is difficult to understand where is the sealed-up fountain, and that enclosed garden ; therefore

have I thought that I ought to consult the Chair of Peter, and the faith that was commended by the mouth of the Apostle, seeking now the food of my soul from that place where, in other days, I received the robe of Christ. . . .

Wherefore, although your greatness deter, yet does your mildness invite me. From a Priest, a victim asks safety; from a shepherd, a sheep seeks protection. Envy avaunt; away with the pride of the topmost dignity of Rome. I speak with the fisherman's successor, and the disciple of the Cross. Following no chief but Christ, I am joined in communion with your Holiness; that is, with the Chair of Peter. Upon that rock I know that the Church is built.

St. Jerome calls the Pope, the Rock, the Ark—and the Pontiff's Chair, the Chair of Peter.

Whosoever eats the lamb out of this house is profane. If any be not in the ark of Noah, he will perish whilst the deluge prevails. And as for my sins, I have wandered to that desert which bounds Syria, and I cannot at all times, with such a distance between us, ask for the holy of the Lord at the hands of your Holiness; therefore, do I here follow your colleagues, the Egyptian confessors, and my little skiff lies concerted beneath those deeply-laden vessels. I know not Vitalis; I repudiate Miletius; I am a stranger to Paulinus. Whosoever gathereth not with thee, scattereth—that is, whosoever is not of Christ is of Antichrist.”—*Ep. xv, ad Dam. t. i, n. 1-2.* Again: “The Church here is rent into three parts, each of which is eager to drag me to itself. . . . Meanwhile I cry aloud, If any one is united to the Chair of Peter, he is mine. Miletius, Vitalis, and Paulinus, all assert that they adhere to thee: I might assent, if only one of them declared this; as it is, either two or all of them are liars. Wherefore I beseech your Holiness by the Cross of the Lord—that as you follow the Apostles in honour, you may follow them

and he will
only hold
communion
with the
friends of
Rome.

also in merit—you would by your letter make known to me with whom I ought to hold communion in Syria.”—*Ep.* xvi, col. 42.

St. Chrysostom appeals to Innocent.

The illustrious ST. CHRYSOSTOM asks: “Why did Christ shed his blood?” which he thus answers: “That he might obtain possession of those very sheep which he entrusted to Peter and his successors.”—l. ii, *de Sacerd.* n. 1. And in urging Pope Innocent to espouse his cause warmly, observe what language he makes use of. “Now that you have become acquainted with all these things, my most honoured and religious Lords,¹ display that vigour and zeal which become you, so as to repress so great a wickedness which has assailed the Churches. Vouchsafe to write back, that what has been wickedly done by one party, whilst I was absent and did not decline a trial, has no force, as indeed it has not of its own nature; and that they who have been proved to have acted thus against all law be subjected to the laws of the Church: and allow us to enjoy uninterruptedly your letters and love, and all the rest, as we did formerly. . . . I having stated all the above matters, and you having learnt everything more clearly from the religious Lords, my fellow-bishops, do you, I beseech you, bring to this matter in my behalf that zeal which is required at your hands.”—*Ep.* i, *ad Innoc.* t. iii, p. 620-1.

What were the convictions and belief of *St. Innocent*—why, he received appeals from the East and from the west, from, indeed, every quarter of the Christian world—

¹ Chrysostom uses here the plural, to testify his respect for the Pontiff. For similar examples, see the letter of Eusebius of Milan, *apud S. Leon.* post *Ep.* 52; that of Theodoret to St. Leo; and the Council of Mopsuestia to Pope Vigilius, *act.* 5.

may readily be gathered from his own words. "Amongst other cares of the Roman Church, and the occupations of the Apostolic See—whereby we are busied in a medicinal and faithful handling of the consultations by divers parties—our brother and fellow-bishop, Julius, has unexpectedly pressed on my notice the letter which you have, with a more than ordinary solicitude for the faith, sent me from the Council held at Melevis. . . . Carefully, therefore, and as was befitting, do you consult what is the secret wish of this Apostolic dignity (a dignity, I repeat, upon which falls, besides those things that are without, the solicitude for all the Churches), as to what opinion is to be held in matters of such moment; having herein followed the pattern of an ancient rule, which you, equally with myself, know has always been observed by the whole world. But I pass these things by; for I do not think but what this is manifest to your prudence. Yea, why have you confirmed this by your own act, but that you know that throughout all the provinces, answers to questions always emanate from the Apostolic spring. Especially, as often as questions of faith are agitated, I am of opinion that all our Brethren and fellow-bishops ought not to refer but to Peter—that is, to the author of their name and honour—even as your friendliness has now referred (to ascertain) what may be for the common weal of all the Church throughout the whole world. For the authors of these evils must needs be more cautious, in seeing themselves, upon the report of two synods, separated from the communion of the Church by the decree of our sentence. Wherefore, by the authority of the Apostolic power, we do declare Pelagius and Celestius—the inventors, to wit, of

St. Innocent declares that all were bound to appeal to Peter, to wit, the Holy See :

novel words, which, as the Apostle has said, are of no edification, but rather are wont to beget most foolish questions—deprived of the Communion of the Church.”—*Ep. xxx, ad Conc. Melev.*

his language
about his
See.

In the midst of troubles and appeals, this Pope often adopts this language, and refers to his headship as the heir of St. Peter. He calls his “the Apostolic See, and the head of the Churches.”—*Ep. xvii, n. 1.* He says, “that the Episcopate itself, and all the authority of his title, are derived from St. Peter;” and that “the Fathers, by a judgment not human but divine, had decreed that, whatever should be transacted even afar off, should not be looked upon as completed until it had come to the knowledge, and been approved of by the Roman Apostolic See; in order that, after the decree of Rome, all our Churches, like streams flowing from an uncorrupted fountain-head, might know what to order,” &c.—*Ep. clxxxi, Aurelio et cæteris. in Con. Carthag.* And finally, in his thirty-seventh Epistle, sent to Felix, he styles himself “the head and chief of the Episcopate.”

St. Austin's
observations
on the de-
cisions of
Rome.

ST. AUSTIN's words, in reference to the answers of Innocent, are well known. “Two Councils have been sent to the Apostolic See; and thence, also, have the rescripts come. The cause is ended: would that at length the error was ended.”—*Serm. cxxxi, t. v, p. 930. Ed. Paris, 1837.* Again: “Carthage had a Bishop of no slight authority, who was able to disregard the multitude of enemies conspiring against him, when he saw himself united by letters of communion both with the Roman Church, in which the primacy of the Apostolic Chair has always flourished, and with other lands, whence the gospel came into Africa itself,

where he might be ready to plead his own cause, if his adversaries should attempt to alienate those Churches from him.”—*Ep. xliii.*

Nothing can be more emphatic than the following language of ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA:—“That these things really are so, let us produce a witness most worthy of faith, a most holy man, and Archbishop of all the habitable world, that Celestine, who is both Father and Patriarch of the mighty city of Rome, who himself, also, exhorted thee by letter, bidding thee desist from that maddest of blasphemies, and thou didst not obey him.”—*Encom. in S. M. Deip. p. 384.*

St. Cyril styles Pope Celestine, Archbishop of the whole world.

ST. CELESTINE’S reply, in reference to Nestorius, addressed to St. Cyril, is particularly striking. “They, therefore, remain in our communion, whom this man (Nestorius) has excluded from communion for having opposed him: let him know that he himself will not be able to retain our communion, if, opposing the Apostolic teaching, he continue in this path of error. Wherefore, having added to you the authority of this our throne, and using with power the succession of this our place, you will exact, with rigorous firmness, this definite sentence, that either within ten days, counting from the day of this admonition, he shall anathematize, by a confession under his own hand, this wicked assertion of his, and shall give assurance that he will hold, concerning the generation of the Christ and our God, *the same faith as the Church of the Romans*, and of your Holiness, and the religion of the world holds; or if he will not do this, your Holiness, having at once provided for that Church, will let him know that he is in every way removed from our body.”—*Ep. x, apud Cyril, t. v, part ii, p. 42.* Here, indeed,

Celestine invests Cyril with his authority to depose Nestorius.

authority is exercised, and exercised most unflinchingly, over an Eastern prelate. Could this have been written, or would these instructions have been attended to by Cyril, unless the Papal supremacy had been an admitted fact? Perhaps, from the letter of another Pontiff, the character of the Popedom may be made even clearer than it has hitherto been; though to say this may appear somewhat bold to the reader, already, perhaps, amazed at the amount of evidence produced. And these declarations of the supreme Pontiffs are of the highest value: they show us what they who held the reins of government, and who had the headship, believed in regard of the origin and extent of their power; and they further show how incessantly and unopposed they claimed their rights. Even as the Episcopacy is the best exponent of what it does and whence it claims its power, so are the Popes likewise the best exponents of what they were daily obliged to do, and of the grounds on which they rested their powers of action.

Value of the
declarations
of the Popes,
in reference
to the power
of Rome.

BONIFACE, then, the first of that name, who succeeded Zozimus in 418, and ruled the Church for four years, thus writes: "The institution of the universal Church took its beginning from the honour bestowed on the blessed Peter, in whom *its government and headship reside*.¹ For from him, as its source, did ecclesiastical discipline flow over all the Churches, when the culture of religion had begun to make progress. The precepts of the Synod of Nice bear no other testimony, insomuch that that Synod did not attempt to make any regulations in his regard, as it saw that nothing could be conferred that was superior to his own dignity: it knew, in

Zozimus.

¹ I would not make the words underlined emphatic, owing to the obscurity of the Latin phrase, "*In quo regimen Ejus et summa consistit.*"

fine, that everything had been bestowed on him by the word of the Lord. It is, therefore, certain that *this Church is to the Churches spread over the whole world as the head is to its own members*; from which Church whosoever has cut himself off becomes an alien from the Christian religion, whereas he has begun not to be in the same bonds of fellowship. Now I hear that certain Bishops, the Apostolic right despised, are attempting a novelty, which is in direct opposition to the special injunctions of Christ, seeing that they are trying to separate themselves from the communion, and to speak more correctly, from the power of the Apostolic See, seeking aid from men to whom the regulations of the Church have never given their sanction that they should be of superior authority. . . . Receive, therefore, from us, an admonition and a rebuke, of which we offer one to the Prelates (who side with us), the other to the separatists. . . . It is not becoming in the brethren to feel galled at another's power. Assuredly, as the *Apostolic See holds the primacy for this, that it may receive the lawful complaints of all*, if in anything his correction seemed to be excessive, it became you, by sending an embassy, to appeal to us, upon whom you may see the charge of everything devolves. . . . Let this novel presumption cease. Let every one who accounts himself a Bishop obey our ordinance. Let no one presume to ordain Bishops throughout Illyricum, without the privity of our fellow-bishop, Rufus."—*Ep. xiv, Epis. Thess. apud Galland. t. ix, p. 57.*

The Roman Church, the head of all Churches.

Why the primacy was established.

Boniface's supremacy was as well known and admitted by the fathers of the Sixth Council of Carthage, as by the Bishops of Gaul and Illyricum. They beg of His Holiness "to allow them to observe what had been decreed in the Council of Nice;" request him "to procure from the

Bishops of Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople, correct copies of the Nicene decrees," and "forward to him, for his approval, their own enactments." See *Tillemont*, xiii; *S. Augus.*, § 292—5.

The Pontiff
has an uni-
versal pri-
macy.

THEODORET continues the list of believers in the primacy of Rome. "If Paul, he says, that herald of the truth, that trumpet of the Holy Ghost, repaired to Peter to bring from him an explanation to those of Antioch, who were disputing concerning questions of the law, with much greater reason do we, who are so worthless and lowly, hasten to your Apostolic throne, to receive from you a cure for the wounds of the Churches. *For it pertains to you to hold the primacy in all things*: for your throne is adorned with many prerogatives. . . . She (Rome) is the greatest and most illustrious of cities; she rules the world and overflows with a crowd of citizens. Add to this, that she now enjoys a victorious supremacy, and has given her own name to subject nations."—*Ep.* cxiii, *Leoni.* t. iv, p. 1187.

St. Peter
Chrysologus.

Hear again another eloquent and orthodox writer, St. PETER CHRYSOLOGUS. "We exhort you, honored brother (Eutyches), that in all things you obediently attend to those things which have been written by the most blessed Pope (Leo) of the city of Rome, *because blessed Peter, who lives and presides in his own see*, gives to those who seek, true faith. For we, in our solicitude for truth and faith, cannot, without the consent of the Bishop of the Roman Church, hear causes of faith."—P. 16.

Rome, the
Head of the
world.

VINCENT OF LERINS thus observes: "And for proof that not Greece only, or the East only, but also the Western and Latin world, were always of the same opinion, there were read there (at the Council of Ephesus,) some letters of St. Felix Martyr and of St. Julius, Bishops of the City of Rome, addressed to certain individuals. And that not

only *the head of the world*, but also the other parts, might give their testimony to that judgment, from the South they had blessed Cyprian.”—*Adv. hæc.* n. xxxi.

No one perhaps has more clearly enunciated the truth, in the development of which we are engaged, than S. LEO surnamed THE GREAT. In his letter to the Metropolitans of Illyricum, he says, “Whereas our care is extended throughout all the Churches,—this being required of us by our Lord who committed the primacy of the Apostolic dignity to the most blessed Apostle Peter in reward of his faith, establishing the universal Church on the solidity of him, the foundation,—we associate in that necessary solicitude which we feel, those who are joined with us in the charity of (Episcopal) fellowship. Wherefore, following the example of those, whose memory is venerable unto us, we have committed to our Brother and fellow-bishop Anastasius, to act in our stead; and we have enjoined him to be watchful that nothing unlawful be attempted by any one; to whom that your friendliness be, in things pertaining to ecclesiastical discipline, obedient, we admonish you.” *Ep v, ad Epis. Metrop. per Illyr.* c. ii, p. 617. Again, “the whole Church acknowledges Peter, in the see of Peter”¹—“as what Peter believed in Christ is permanent, so is what Christ instituted in Peter permanent”—“blessed Peter continuing in his acquired firmness of the *rock*, has not abandoned the entrusted helm of the Church.”—“His (Peter’s) power survives, and his authority excels in his own chair.”—“Peter, they know not only to be the prelate of this chair (of Rome), but the primate also of all bishops.”²

St. Leo.

Peter’s power endures, in the Roman Pontiff.

THE BISHOPS OF TARRAGON declare in their letter to

¹ Serm. ii, de nat. ord. suæ. c. 2.

² Serm. iii, de nat. ord. c. 2—4.

The Supremacy to be loved by all men.

Pope Hilary, who "occupied the chair of Peter," that "the supremacy of Peter's Vicar, as it is eminent, so is it to be feared and loved by all."—*Apud Labb. Conc. t. iv, col. 1033.* In fine, Pope Gelasius says, in the Council of seventy bishops held at Rome in 494: "the holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church, has been raised above the other Churches, not by any synodal decrees, but from the evangelic voice of our Lord and Saviour, has it obtained the primacy, he saying, 'thou art Peter, and upon this rock,'" &c.—*Dec. Con. Rom. sub Gelasio, apud Labbe, t. iv, col. 1261.*

The Pope's supremacy, further proved from the Paschal controversy.

But facts offer a more striking kind of evidence than written declarations; to a few of these we will appeal in confirmation of our argument. Already we have alluded to the conduct of Clement in the first century. In the second century, there is offered us in the Paschal controversy a more striking proof of Papal supremacy. As is now universally admitted, the Pontiffs throughout the controversy, relative to the time of keeping Easter, were right: they upheld the principle which Europe and the world eventually admitted; but before accomplishing their object, they had to meet with much opposition. They had to bear up against the reproaches and bitter taunts of men who professed Catholicity and admitted the supremacy of Rome; even they had to combat men of saintly lives and first-rate ability—men, who could with their pens ably defend Christianity, and with their blood seal its truths. The struggle began in the second century, and it lasted a long while. Victor, the Roman Pontiff—he succeeded to the See of St. Peter in the year 194—, anxious to establish unity of discipline as well as unity of faith, decreed in a council at Rome, that Easter should be ob-

served on the Sunday after the fourteenth day of the moon. This decree was not complied with by the Asian prelates: accordingly, Victor wrote to the Churches of Asia, which had from an early period differed from Rome in regard to the time of Easter, *commanding* them to conform, and this under pain of excommunication, to the Roman rule. The threat was soon made public; the East was in consternation, and Gaul was filled with wonder at the Pontiff's resolve. To prevent him from proceeding to extremities, St. Irenæus, the saintly priest of Lyons, journeyed to Rome, at the request of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne. He besought the Pontiff "not to cut off whole churches of God, whilst observing a tradition of ancient usage," and his request, if St. Jerome's testimony be unimpeachable, was complied with. Though the Eastern and Western churches were angry with Victor, still no one questioned his authority. No one said, you have no authority over the distant churches of Asia: our custom is as good as yours, and the power of our prelates is as great as that of the Roman Pontiff: unless then, Victor comply with our command, we will excommunicate him and his: and the Churches of Asia will no longer hold communion with the Churches of the West. Nothing like this was uttered. There were, indeed, proofs enough of displeasure; but not a voice was raised against the authority—the rights of the great Western See over the sees of Asia and Gaul.¹ See *Eusebius H. E. l. v, c. xxix.*

St. Irenæus
sent to Vic-
tor.

¹ Eusebius calls the Asian observance *παράδοσις ἀρχαιοτέρα*, and the Roman, *παράδοσις Α'πιστολική*. In the Council of Nice it was decreed that Easter day should be kept on the first *Sunday* after the fourteenth day of the moon. See on this head the letter of Constantine the Great, addressed to the absent bishops, in Theodoret, l. i, H. E. c. 10, and

The contro-
versy about
the validity
of baptism
given by
heretics.

Stephen
threatens the
African, &c.
Prelates.

The third century offers us another example, which has been, and is more frequently spoken of on account of the nature of the contest and of the character of the leader of the opposition, than almost any other in connexion with the Holy See. St. Stephen, being consulted by Denis of Alexandria about the necessity of baptizing heretics converted to the faith, gave an answer highly disagreeable and opposed to the convictions of St. Cyprian. He said that baptism was not invalid, *because* given by heretics; and that therefore where the Catholic ordinance had been observed regarding matter and form, baptism was not to be repeated. Cyprian contended that this decision was wrong. In proof of his opinion he adduced text after text of Scripture, referred to the belief and practice of other prelates, which seemed favourable to his own views; and moreover succeeded in securing the approval of numerous prelates of Africa and elsewhere. But all was to no purpose; for Stephen had spoken according to the tradition of the Roman Church, and that tradition had never been corrupted. He unflinchingly insisted on the truth of what he had said, and further he insisted on Cyprian and his partizans assent. He did more—he went so far as to threaten them with excommunication in case they remained obstinate. Some will have it that the Pontiff actually executed his threat, and this is indeed distinctly stated by the violent Firmilian;¹ but the contrary opinion held by St. Austin is much more probable, for he wrote dispas-

Eusebius, l. iii, de vita Const. c. 16-7-8. St. Leo's letter, xciv, ad Marci anum Imp. relative to the office of the Patriarch of Alexandria, and the custom of announcing Easter, will be found very interesting to those previously unacquainted with the facts.

¹ Ep. lxxv, inter Cyprianicas.

sionately, and after a careful examination of evidence.² The Prelates angry. Angry indeed was Cyprian; angry too, were the African prelates, with the Roman Pontiff; and Firmilian of Cæsarea, with others, almost raved—but no one dared say that Stephen *was not supreme*; that he had no jurisdiction. They might argue; they might explain; they might in this instance deny practically the *infallibility of the Pontiff*, but not one syllable was uttered by the head of the party, Cyprian, to alter the meaning of the thousand expressions he had made use of in favour of the Holy See. The denier of the validity of baptism when given by heretics, was evidently the same Cyprian who had solicited Stephen to depose Marcian, the unworthy bishop of Arles, and to nominate some other prelate in his stead,³—and who in writing to Cornelius, had designated the Church of Rome, “*Radicem et matricem Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*.”—*Ep. xlv, ad Cornelium*, p. 59, Ed. Maur.

Still, no denial of Stephen's supreme authority.

In the fourth century raged the Arian controversy. Pope Julius cited the Arian prelates to Rome. They did not deny his authority, but on frivolous pretexts—want of sufficient notice, and the state of affairs in the East, they did not obey the summons. The Pontiff ex-

The Arian controversy.

² L. de Unic. Bap. contra Petil. c. 14, § 23, et l. v, de Bap. contra Donat. c. xxv, n. 36, et l. vi, c. 1, n. 1. See also Coustant. t. i, Epist. R. Pontif. p. 227; Nat. Alex. diss. xii, in H. E. Sæc. iii; et Valesius in Eusebium, l. vii, H. E. c. v.

³ Epist. lxvii. Vide Petrum de Marca, l. i, c. 10, § 8; de Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii, et Pamel, l. c. Balusius, in his notes on the 68th Epistle of St. Cyprian, observes, that Baronius was quite right, in saying that the Pontiffs were appealed to from every quarter of the world. This observation is made, owing to a bishop of Spain, who had been condemned by a Spanish synod, having, in consequence of false statements made to Stephen, been restored again.

Julius re-
stored
Athanasius
to his See of
Alexandria.

Dignity of
that See.

poses their subterfuges, and tells them that the real reason for not appearing was the consciousness of certain condemnation. St. Athanasius, cited by the Pope, went to Rome: he went to the Pope in the company of several prelates from Thrace, Palestine, and Phœnicia, not of his own accord, but because he had been summoned thither by the Roman Pontiff. Having carefully examined into the orthodoxy of those who had been driven from their sees by the violence of the Arian faction, and discovered that the allegations preferred against them were untrue, Julius restored all to their respective bishopricks.² Among the restored, was the illustrious Archbishop of Alexandria, Athanasius. This event occurred in 341. Thus each century affords us the most striking proofs of the exercise of the Papal supremacy—a supremacy, not limited by the boundaries of the Western Patriarchate, but extending over the East, and the patriarchates themselves. Alexandria was a noble see. From the earliest period two metropolitans had been established in the East, one at Antioch, the other at Alexandria; and on these all the bishops of the East depended. In its sixth canon, the Council of Nice decreed, that the Eastern prelates should not be consecrated without the consent of one or other of these metropolitans. It was the duty of the Alexandrian prelate to ordain the bishops of the provinces of Egypt, Lybia,

¹ "Non suo motu, sed accersitus, ac litteris nostris acceptis, huc accessit."—S. Ath. Apol. adv. Arian, § 29. See too Theodoret, l. ii, H. E. c. 3.

² See Baronius ad ann. 336, § 65. Socrates says: "When they (Athanasius, Paulus, Asclepas, Marcellus, and Lucius,) had opened their cause to Julius, the Bishop of the City of Rome, he, for this is the prerogative of his see, restoring to each his see, sent them back to the East, protected by his letters," &c.—l. ii, c. 15.

and Pentapolis, whilst the bishops of the fifteen provinces of the *East, properly so called*, were to receive their episcopal powers and jurisdiction immediately from the primate of Antioch. But were these exalted characters independent of all authority? No: they were subject to Rome, as we have already shown in reference to Alexandria, and as we shall later show in regard of Antioch. In the fifth century, Innocent the first restored the world-wide esteemed Chrysostom to his See of Constantinople. Chrysostom had been twice condemned by Theophilus of Alexandria;³ condemned too he had even been by a synod of prelates,⁴ but the bann of his deposition and condemnation was removed by the authority of the Roman Pontiff, and the injured prelate, amid the acclamations of a grateful people, again took possession of his see. The Roman Pontiff went further; he vindicated the character of Chrysostom after his death, by refusing to communicate with Atticus, Chrysostom's successor, and with the partizans of Atticus, until the name of Chrysostom had been restored to the dyptics,⁵ and that of Arsacius the usurper of the Constantinopolitan See had been thence expunged. How Pope Celestine acted in this same century in the dispute between the two patriarchs, St. Cyril of Alexandria, and Nestorius of Constantinople, we have already seen. Cyril was deputed by Celestine to act as his representative,⁶ and by virtue of the Pontifical power, to depose Nestorius, unless within ten days he retracted his errors; and to appoint some

Still subject to Rome.

Chrysostom restored.

Further proceedings of the Pontiff in the East.

Palladius in dial. de vita S. Chry. t. xiii, p. 9.

³ Gelasius in Epist. ad Episcop. Dardaniæ, t. iv, Concil. p. 1203.

⁵ On the Dyptics, see C. Bona, l. ii, c. xii, § 1. Rerum Liturg.

⁶ *Nostræ Sedis Auctoritate adscita, nostraque vice et loco usus*, &c. t. iii, Conc. pag. 349.

other person in his stead. And later, Theodoret was restored to his see by order of Pope Leo.¹

History, one
continuous
record of
Papal action.

In fact, what is the history of Christianity, but a continuous record of Papal action. The Pontiff appears before us in every form and in every time: he animates, preserves, invigorates the whole body of Christianity. Does any heresy arise to divide the mystic body? to the Pontiff every eye will be turned, and from his energy and heaven-derived power, the orthodox will be filled with hope. Let the reader consult the histories of the Arian, Macedonian, Nestorian, and Eutychian heresies; or let him make himself acquainted with the course pursued against the Donatists, Manichæans, and Pelagians, and he will be forced to acknowledge that all the faithful were forced to have recourse, as Irenæus well observes, to the See of Rome; that it was through Rome acting authoritatively, that the faith was maintained in its integrity, and that every heresy received its death blow. From the hour of Rome's condemnation the proscribed system ceased to spread; it became daily a manifest system of division, and gradually dwindled away. The most illustrious prelates, as an Athanasius, a Cyril, an Augustine, a Jerome, sought counsel from Rome relative to the course to be adopted in respect of the heresies named, and what the

¹ In the C. of Chalcedon, Act 8, it was said by the magistrates, after Theodoret had anathematized Nestorius: "There is no further difficulty in reference to Theodoret. He has in our presence anathematized Nestorius; he was received by the Archbishop Leo; he has cheerfully accepted your definition of faith; and lastly he has subscribed Leo's letter. Nothing remains except to decree that he be restored to his Church, as Leo decreed." All the bishops then exclaimed: "Theodoret is worthy of his see; let him be restored to his Church; let the Church receive its pastor, its orthodox doctor. Long live the Archbishop Leo."—*C. Chal.* pag. 624. See Fleury, book xviii, c. 25.

Pontiff decided on, to that they fearlessly adhered. We have already laid before our readers proofs of this statement, as far as it concerns Athanasius, Augustine, and Jerome; the proof with regard to Cyril may easily be found in St. Leo's answer to that prelate, dated the first of June, 448.² Nay, so convinced was the world of the spiritual supremacy of Rome, that heresiarchs, like Pelagius, and Nestorius, and schismatics, like those referred to by St. Cyprian and St. Jerome, appealed to the Holy See, pretended submission to her, and thus sought to hide their heresies and schism, and induce the Pontiff, duped by their cunning and hypocrisy, to espouse their cause, and admit them to his communion. Why, even the very Pagans were cognizant of that of which some Christians affect to be ignorant. This is evident in the case of Paul of Samosetta, who was raised to the See of Antioch in 260. Convicted by the prelates of the East, who had met in council at Antioch in 268, of denying the divinity of our Lord, he was deposed and excommunicated, and Domnus was substituted in his place. The decisions of the Antiochian council were forwarded to the Roman Pontiff, and by him they were approved. But the heresiarch remained obstinate; nay, more, he positively refused to quit the mansion belonging to the Church, which he had occupied, until the emperor, in consequence of an appeal previously made to him by the Christians respecting this violent detention of the property of the Church, decreed, that 'the building should be given up to those, to whom the Italian bishops of the Christian religion, AND *the Roman Bishop* should write." The singular and isolated position of the Roman Bishop, as distinct from all the Italian

Even heretics, to screen themselves, appealed to Rome.

Its power known by infidels.

² Epist. xix, alit. vi.

bishops, of itself is remarkable, but in connexion with all that we know of history as to the Pontiffs' power, it is unmistakeable:—to use Cave's significant expression, all "*this looks only one way.*"

Easter controversy.

If we pass from the consideration of the zeal of the Roman Pontiffs, in opposing heresy, and vindicating the faith of Catholicity under every kind of circumstance, to the history of their advocacy of disciplinary observances, we shall be met at every turn by occurrences similar to those referred to. Victor's zeal during the *Quartodeciman* controversy;¹ Stephen's firmness in advocating the principle, *nihil innovetur nisi quod traditum est*, against Cyprian, Firmilian, and a host of other prelates,² in regard of Baptism; the earnestness with which Damasus, in a passage already cited, in conformity with the conduct of his predecessors, insisted on the ordinances of the Canons; all testify to the fact that the Pontiffs believed in and the prelates of the world admitted the supremacy of Rome. Victor condemning the *Quartodecimans* in the second century, and Gregory condemning the *Hermesians* in the nineteenth; Irenæus running to Rome to avert the anger of the Pontiff, and the noble Prelates and Laymen of France hastening in person or through their deputies to receive the answer of Pius IX; are so many evidences of the vitality and primacy of Rome, and the subjection to Rome of the distant countries of Christendom. Evidently Rome's motto is, SEMPER EADEM.

Appeals to Rome, from the first ages down to these times.

Why should I refer to the conduct of the faithful—

¹ Idem, l. v, c. xxiv-xxv.

² This was in fact a doctrinal question; but it is evident that it was viewed by some as rather disciplinary than doctrinal.

even the most illustrious leaders of the faithful—in the hour of difficulty, oppression or injustice? For can any one have forgotten, either the appeals of Cyprian, Athanasius, Jerome, Chrysostom, or Augustin—not to name hundreds of others scattered over the Eastern and Western world,—or the zeal of Cornelius, Julius, Innocent, or Damasus,³ and the effects of this zeal of the Roman Pontiffs? In fine, can any person acquainted with the convocation, confirmation, object, and presidency of the great councils of the Church, fail to recognize the true, Catholic character of his Holiness the Pope? Anxious to suppress the heresy of Arius, Silvester sent Osius, Bishop of Cordova,⁴ to Alexandria to oppose it. But the legate's endeavours proving ineffectual, the Pontiff, in conjunction with the Emperor Constantine, convoked a synod to be held at Nice in 325, at which 318 prelates attended.⁵

The Synod of Nice convened by Silvester.

³ See the previous facts connected with these names.

⁴ See Baronius, ad ann. 325, § 13; Hardouin, Acta Con. Nicœni, t. iii, col. 1418, in Serm. acclam.; Socrates, l. i, c. 7; Sozomen, l. i, c. 16; Epiph. Hær. lxxviii, Anastasius, Biblioth. in *Silvestro*, sect. xxxv. The difference between the Pontiff and Emperor is well marked in the last named author—"Hujus temporibus factum est concilium cum ejus consensu in Nicœa." The Pontiff's permission being given, the Emperor furthered the object.

⁵ For a gross specimen of ignorance of history, let the reader see Calvin's Institutions, l. iv, c. vii. 1° He makes Athanasius, whom he looks on as the then patriarch of Alexandria, the President of the Council. 2° He supposes that Julius was then the Roman Bishop. 3° He says that the Papal legates sat in the fourth place. Now 1° Alexander and not Athanasius, was at that time Bishop of Alexandria; Athanasius being only a deacon. 2° Silvester was the Bishop of Rome; and 3° The Papal legates subscribed in the manner noted in the text. What probably deceived Calvin here, was the following passage of Sozomen—l. i, c. 17—"At this Council were present from the Apostolic Sees, Macarius of Jerusalem, Eustathius of Antioch, and Alexander of Alexandria. The Bishop of Rome, on account of his great age, was absent, but Vitus and Vincentius

Calvin's ignorance exposed.

The Papal legates, though Priests only, subscribe in the first place.

There,¹ Osius assisted by two other Roman legates, Vito and Vincentius, who were simply priests, presided in the name of the Pontiff, and subscribed before the Eastern patriarchs even, because they were the Pontiff's legates. Some have dared to assert that Osius was not the Papal legate. And why? because forsooth he did not mention this after his name; as if 1° his character was not well known in consequence of his mission to the East; and 2° as if it was necessary for an ordinary prelate of Spain, to state that he signed the conciliary acts, the first of all others, even before those who governed the mighty Sees of Antioch and Alexandria, because he was the Papal representative. The very fact of such a subscription was evidence enough of the position he maintained. Additions to subscriptions could not have made the matter clearer. But when we further find that Gelasius of Cyzicum states,

were there for him." The Patriarchates here are mentioned in an inverted order: the last is first, and the first is last, as is evident.

¹ Some persons, out of hatred to Rome, have affected to believe that Constantine, by virtue of his imperial power, convoked the Council. But 1° this is denied uniformly in every record of the Church regarding this Council, but especially in all the references to a canon enforced or passed at Nice, that no General Councils shall be held without the consent of the Bishops of Rome. See the letter of St. Athanasius and the Bishops of Egypt in Council at Alexandria. Ep. Synod. ad Felic. 2° This is opposed to the subscriptions and acts of those who were in the Council. So far from claiming power over the Council, Constantine sat in a lower place than the Bishops, and subscribed after them. In fact he openly repudiated the idea of a right to interfere. 3° Rufinus says—*apud Spond.* Anno 325, n. 5—that Constantine called the Council, "*ex Sacerdotum sententia*," as of another Council called together at Rome at the same time, it is said—"Silvester gathered the whole Council (of 275 Bishops) with the advice of the Emperor." The same is testified by Damasus, *in vita Silv.*—"Constantine and Silvester, worthy of praise, called the famous Council of Nice." See more on this point later.

on the authority of Eusebius of Cæsarea,² and of an ancient collection of canons,³ that Osius was the Papal legate at Nice, the fact of Osius' presidency is placed beyond dispute. And indeed is it not evident from the letters of the fathers at Nice, addressed to Silvester, that they acknowledged his authority. They expressly say⁴—"We pray that whatever we have appointed in the Nicene Council, may be confirmed by the agreement of your voice." Papal authority clearly admitted. This prayer is full of meaning; it is illustrated by the reiterated prayer of the prelates met in council in all after times from the fourth to the nineteenth century.

Even the Second General Council, the Council of Constantinople, which only became entitled to the character of an Œcumenical Council, subsequently to the approbation of the Roman Pontiff, offers its quota of evidence on the matter under examination. For 1^o though the Patriarchs and Bishops of the East were at the Council convened by Theodosius in 381, still application was made to Damasus, not only for a confirmation of their doctrinal decrees, but also of the sentence of deposition pronounced against an Eastern prelate, named Timothy.⁵ Council of Constantinople. This letter

² Apud Hard. Acta Con. t. i, col. 375—*αὐτός τε Σπάνων ὁ πάνυ βοώμενος ὁ Ὅσιος ἐπέχων καὶ τὸν τόπον τῶν τῆς μεγίστης Ρώμης ἐπισκοποῦ Σιλδέστρον, σὺν πρεσβυτέροις Ρώμης βίτῳ καὶ βικεντίῳ—κ. τ. λ.* This passage is not in the present Ed. l. iii, de Vita Cons. of Eusebius, but see on this head Muzzarelli de Auct. Ri. Pontif. t. i, c. v, and Perrone Prælec. Theolog. vol. viii, p. 458. Even Photius allows this—"To Vitus, &c. was joined Osius of Cordova," Epis. de vii Syn. and Hincmar Opus. c. 55.

³ Apud Ballar. Opp. St. Leonis, t. iii, p. 187.

⁴ Apud Labbe. t. ii, Con. p. 58.

⁵ As the learned Father Perrone well observes, in his "*Prælectiones Theologicæ*"—"There are not wanting documents which prove that the Emperor Theodosius convened the Council with the consent of the R. Pontiff, Damasus." The following is the statement of the Sixth Œcumenical Council—"Macedonius denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost; but the

indeed is lost; but from Damasus' reply, which we have already cited, its character is evident. 2° In their reply to Damasus, who had invited them to a Council at Rome, they observe after stating the difficulties preventing their compliance — "Therefore, whatever inclination we may have to correspond with your loving invitation, we cannot thus wholly abandon our Churches, which begin to revive; and the journey would even be impracticable by most of us. For we came to Constantinople according to the letters which you wrote last year to the most pious Emperor Theodosius after the Council of Aquileia, and were prepared for this voyage and this Council only with the consent of the Bishops who remained in the provinces."—*Epist. Syn. ad Damas.* apud *Labbe.* t. ii, conc. p. 961. 3° They give to the Bishop of new Rome the primacy AFTER the Roman Pontiff.¹

This Council too convened probably by the Pope.

greatest Emperor Theodosius, and Damasus, the adamant of faith, congregated that Synod in this royal city." Hence I cannot approve of the dashing, off-hand assertions of the Rev. Albany J. Christie, at p. 3 of the first vol. of Fleury's Ecclesiastical History. And indeed, it seems to me to be pretty clear that the following words of Sozomen regard a letter of Damasus, sent to the Council of Constantinople—"Whilst this question, whether the Holy Spirit was to be believed to have the same substance as the Father and the Son, was being agitated, and by contention was being increased more and more, the Bishop of the City of Rome, having heard of this, wrote to the Churches of the East, that they should confess with the Western Bishops, a consubstantial Trinity, equal in honor and glory. Hence, all acquiesced, inasmuch as the controversy had been terminated by the judgment of the Roman Church, and that question seemed at length to have come to an end."—l. vi, H. E. c. xxii. Finally, Cardinal Baronius, ad ann. 381, cites two very ancient manuscripts, one of the Vatican, and the other of St. Mary Major's, in which it is stated that this "Council was held by the command and authority of Damasus."

¹ I adduce these words *only to shew the belief of* the Fathers of Constantinople. The Scholar who has read St. Gregory's Epis. 31, l. vi, will understand the reason of this observation.

Few Councils have as many pleasing recollections connected with their history as the Council of Ephesus. The zeal and piety of Cyril; the anxiety of a whole city to hear the decision of the Fathers against the Christ-dividing Nestorius; the definition of *θεοτοκος*, which connected the Son and Mother so intimately, that Christ must be considered God as long as his Virgin Mother is the *θεοτοκος*, and his Virgin Mother, as long as the decisions of Ephesus are respected, no less a Mother, than God's Mother, all awaken an intensity of interest, at other times seldom experienced. Now in this Council, terms of the strongest import are applied to Pope Celestine by Philip the Papal legate, and adopted by the Fathers.—“It is a matter of doubt to none, yea rather, it is a thing known to all ages, that the holy and most blessed Peter, the Prince and Head of the Apostles, the pillar of the faith, the foundation of the Catholic Church, received the keys of the kingdom from Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, and Redeemer of mankind. And to him was given authority to bind and to loose sins; who even unto this present, and always, both lives and judges in his successors: our holy and most blessed Pope Celestine, the Bishop, the canonical successor and vicegerent of this Peter, has sent us as representatives of his person.”—*Conc. Eph.* act. iii, col. 625, t, iii, *Labbe*. And again—“We acknowledge our thanks to the holy and venerable Synod, that the letters of our holy and blessed Pope having been read to you, you have united your holy members, by your holy voices and acclamations, to that holy head; for your blessedness is not ignorant, that the blessed Peter, the Apostle, was the head of all the faith, as also of the Apostles.”—*Ibid.* act. ii, col. 619. The Council was

Council of Ephesus.

Unequivocal language of, regarding papal Supremacy.

Cyril pre-
sided by
order of the
Pope,

called together, as the journal of the Roman Pontiffs, published by Garnier, says,¹ by "authority of Celestine, Bishop of the Apostolic See." At this Council, Cyril, whom we have already seen invested with authority from the Pontiff to condemn and deprive Nestorius after ten days, in case of obstinacy, presided.² But the Pontiff sent other legates, who arrived after the Council had begun to act, namely, Arcadius and Projectus of the Episcopal, and Philip of the priestly order. These were sent, notwithstanding Cyril's³ appointment to treat with and decide against Nestorius, in order to confirm the president's decisions, and to enable him to carry them into effect, notwithstanding the endeavours of the fautors of Nestorius to prejudice the Emperor against Cyril, and through these prejudices to condemn, not the heresiarch, but the saint. This is the observation of De Marca, in reference to this double appointment.—*De Concord. Sacerd. et Imperii*. l. v, c. 4, § 7. In the very first session, the Fathers avow that, "compelled by the Sacred Canons and the Epistle of Celestine, the Bishop of the Roman Church, they had necessarily passed the melancholy sentence against Nestorius."—*Labbe*. t. iii, *Conc.* p. 533.

and con-
demns Nes-
torius.

¹ See page 36 of the Paris Ed. 1680; Zaccaria's *Antifebronio*, vol. iv, part ii, l. iv, c. 1, and Muzzarelli, l. c., vol. ii, c. vii, § 2. It is not of course denied that the Emperor also convoked the Council. But this he did as a temporal prince, whilst the Pontiff acted as supreme head of the Church. The Bishops obeyed their temporal prince from one motive, and from another the Roman Pontiff. This observation should be carefully attended to.

² See Fleury. b. xxv, c. xxxvii, and c. xlvii. I cannot approve of the note in the English translation, p. 68: it is opposed to fact.

³ Cyril calls Celestine, *Father*, *Patriarch* and *Archbishop of the whole world*, in one of his sermons at Ephesus, prior to the commencement of the proceedings of the Council. See St. Cyril, vol. v, pt. ii, p. 384.

And on more than one occasion is it stated, that Cyril, who presided over the Council, held the place of Celestine.⁴

The Fourth General Council, held at Chalcedon in 451, will next demand our attention. It will present to us at every turn evidence in favour of the Supremacy of the Roman See. This was one of the most numerously attended Councils ever held. What was the precise number of prelates present at any one time, cannot be exactly determined, I think; for statements vary considerably on this head. Some say that 600 attended; others, that there were in all 630 prelates at Chalcedon, whilst Cecropius of Sebastopolis will have it, that twelve hundred persons assisted at the fourth session.⁵ This last statement is obviously incorrect, for Lucentius, one of the Papal legates, speaking about this very session, says that there were not more than 600 present. Even this number is reduced in the synodical letter addressed to Leo. There it is said that the entire number of Priests, *i. e.* Bishops, was 520. ⁶ The number must have been, I think, *about* 600.

Council of Chalcedon.

Number of those who formed it.

The Pope's Legates, Paschasinus, Lucentius, and Boniface, the two former bishops, the latter a priest, presided at the Council. The first named opened the session in the

Papal Legates presided.

⁴ *διέποντος καὶ τὸν τόπον Κελεσίνου. C. Eph.* p. 610. In the Council of Chalcedon, Sozon, Bishop of Philippi, drew up a document in the name of all the Bishops of Eastern Illyricum, which runs thus: "..... we retain the decision made by the Council of Ephesus, at which *the blessed Celestine and the blessed Cyril presided*, and we are persuaded that the most holy Archbishop Leo is most orthodox."—*Act. iv, C. Chalced. Labbe*, p. 491.

⁵ *Apud Labbe. t. iv, Conc. p. 515.*

⁶ *Labbe. p. 833.*

Dioscorus
forbidden by
the Pope to
sit in Coun-
cil.

Cause of
this:

following remarkable words :—" We have orders from the most blessed and Apostolic Bishop of the City of Rome, which is the head of all the Churches, in which orders he has vouchsafed to set forth that Dioscorus is not to sit in the Council. Therefore, so please your Greatness, let him go out, or we must quit." And when asked the reason of this injunction, Lucentius thus spoke :—" He has assumed a power of judging which he does not possess, and has dared to hold a Synod without the authority of the Apostolic throne, a thing which was never done nor can be done lawfully." After this, Paschasinus continued :—" We cannot act contrary to the Pope's orders, or to the canons of the Church." Accordingly Dioscorus left his place, and took his seat in the midst of the assembly.—*Concil. Chalce. art. i, col. 93, Labbe.*

deposed by
the Pope.

In the second session, the following was the acclamation of the Fathers after the perusal of the letter of Pope Leo. " This is the faith of the Fathers, this is the faith of the Apostles ; we all believe thus ; the orthodox believe thus ; anathema to him who does not believe thus. *Peter has thus spoken through Leo ; the Apostles taught thus.*"—*Ibid. act. ii, p. 368.* Eventually Dioscorus was deposed in the following terms : " Wherefore the most holy Archbishop of the great and elder Rome, through us and the present most holy Synod, together with the thrice-blessed and illustrious Peter the Apostle, who is the rock and foundation of the Catholic Church, and the foundation of the orthodox faith, has stripped him of his Episcopacy, and has removed him from all priestly dignity." The sentence of deposition was pronounced by Paschasinus, and afterwards subscribed by 191 prelates. The three legates signed in the first place. Even Boniface, the priest, sub-

scribed before the prelate of Constantinople, Anatolius.—*Ibid*, act. iii, 426, et seq. When the Council was concluded, a synodical letter was addressed to Leo, in which he is styled the “interpreter of St. Peter,” who had “nourished them by his writings.” The Fathers say that “he had presided over them as a head over its members,” and that “to him the guardianship of the vineyard had been entrusted by God.” They tell him next what they have arranged in reference to Constantinople, namely, that “it should have the primacy after the blessed and Apostolic throne of Leo,” as the hundred and fifty Fathers of Constantinople had previously decreed; and they say that they trust that his Holiness will be pleased “to confirm and ratify” what they had done. Ambassadors, and letters from the Emperor and Empress, too, arrived at Rome, soliciting a confirmation of the decision of Chalcedon, relative to the prerogatives of the Bishop of Constantinople.¹ But Leo was inflexible: he would not acquiesce, as is clear from his letters dated May 22, 452. “Anatolius, he says, ought to be content that I have listened to lenity more than to justice, in allowing his ill-grounded ordination, and overlooking his audacious procedure of ordaining the Bishop of Antioch. . . . The City of Constantinople has its privileges, but these are only secular; it is a royal, but it cannot become an Apostolic See. No dishonesty can tear away from the Churches their just rights, as established by the canons, nor can the primacy of so many metropolitans be invaded to gratify the ambition of a single man. Alexandria ought not to lose the second rank for the crimes of an individual like Dioscorus, nor Antioch the third. This en-

Letter of the Fathers expressive of their ideas of Leo's position as Pope.

Leo refuses to accede to the decree relative to the elevation of the See of Constantinople,

¹ Ep. 77, St. Leonis ex collect. Holsten. p. 592; and Fleury, book xviii, c. xxxiii.

and even
threatens to
cut off
Anatolius
from Cath.
Communion.

croachment has been tolerated for about sixty years ; but the Bishops of Constantinople never sent to the holy See any notice of the presumed canon, which is now alleged in its defence."¹ Such is the Pontiff's answer. It is evidently decisive. He tells the Emperor, too, to be more humble: he assures him that he will never consent to what has been decreed, and that the only result, in case of pertinacity on the part of Anatolius, will be, that he, Leo, will be compelled to separate that ambitious man from his communion and that of the Catholic world."—*Ep.* 80.

The evi-
dence all in
favor of
Rome,

Such is the amount of evidence which can be presented in a synopsis of the opinions and belief of the Fathers of those four general Councils, which Protestants are bound to receive. Assuredly the Fathers never dreamt of an *Anglican* supremacy! They never fancied that some Anglican See would affect to be either above the See of Rome, or Alexandria, or Antioch, or Constantinople, or independent of Rome. Much less did it ever occur to them that a female would be called either *supreme head* or *governor* of the Church. They did not fancy that separation from Rome was a mark of Catholicity, or a means of producing unity. If it had been whispered to them that the day would come when swearing against *the Papal power* would be made the condition of a fancied orthodoxy, and the condition of obtaining honours in Church and State, could they have credited it? No: the voice of the world would have been raised against such an idea: the Fathers of the Church would have proclaimed that the See of Rome was the great See, the first See, the Apostolic See, the See with which every one was bound to be united. He who was not with the Pontiff was not with

¹ See *Ep.* 78-9 and 80.

Christ—he was without, and an Antichrist. We have adduced evidence in favour of the Papal supremacy, and the dependence of a world, in matters spiritual, on St. Peter and St. Peter's successors, from the sacred Scriptures, from the writings of the Fathers, and from the first four Œcumenical Councils. Let evidence in *favour of England's supremacy and independence* be adduced by a Bible-boasting people from the sacred Scriptures, from the Fathers, and from Councils. Let us weigh the respective evidence, and see which will kick the beam. WE HAVE NO FEAR OR DOUBT ABOUT THE RESULT. Some men are only for pulling down: they have a destructive faculty: but it is time for them to show that they have a constructive power. They say readily enough *this or that does not prove* the Papal authority; *let us see what arguments establish the regal supremacy, and England's independent and isolated position.* They criticise our sayings and proofs: let us see if their own proofs of their own system are such as to justify that right to criticise and judge which they have so long assumed. Let us see if the Scriptures and antiquity offer, I will not say a proof, but a shadow of a proof, in favour of a Parliament transferring from the Pontiff of Rome to the sovereign of this realm a supremacy over the Church in England such as was granted to Henry VIII,² and has

and all opposed to England's pretensions.

Protestant mode of arguing.

² By the statute of the 26th Henry VIII, it is declared "that he (Henry) and his heirs shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England, called *Ecclesia Anglicana*, and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to his imperial Crown, as well the title and style thereof, as also all honours, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, privileges, &c., to the said dignity of supreme head, belonging," &c.—Stat. Hen. VIII, anno 1535. The Parliament, explaining this power in the first year of Edward VI, c. ii, says, "that all authority of

No proof
available to
Anglicanism

been here exercised since the days of Elizabeth of cursing notoriety.¹ Let that be attempted to be proved in the manner proposed, which so many have declared upon oath, but which three-fourths of the Christian world proclaim to be a manifest untruth, that the Pontiff of Rome neither has nor ought to have any jurisdiction in this realm, and then we shall be able to sift evidence, and see more accurately than we do at present the grounds on which the modern English Church is erected; and the causes of that ceaseless vituperation of the Popedom, of which Catholics have had for so long a while, as they have still, too much cause to complain.

It may be useful, before closing this chapter, to reduce into a brief compass the observations already adduced from the fathers, in reference to the character of Rome and of him who sits in the chair at Rome.

jurisdictions, spiritual and temporal, is derived and deduced from the King's Majesty, as supreme head of the Churches and Realms of England and Ireland, unto the Bishops and Archbishops, &c. See the Act, too, of the first of Elizabeth. If she repudiated the name of *supreme head*, she would not forego the privileges attached to that name: and the Parliaments which made the King head, and confirmed this title of headship, gave the King as well the title of *supreme head* as well as the supremacy. If the title is wrong, is the supremacy itself derived from such an impure and worldly source, worth the having?

Cranmer maintained that "all Christian princes have committed unto them immediately of God the *whole* cure of all their subjects, as well concerning the administration of God's word, for the cure of souls, as concerning the ministration of things political and civil governance." He seems to have had no high ideas of ordination. "A Bishop may make a Priest by the Scripture, and so may princes and governors also, and that by the authority of God committed to them, and the people also by their election." He further maintained that election was alone required, consecration being quite a secondary matter."—See Burnet, Record xxi, vol. ii, Ed. 1840.

¹ For Elizabeth's character and coarse language let the reader consult Miss Strickland's English Queens.—Life of Eliz.

This Church presides ;—

It is possessed of a superior principality ;

There is the principal Chair of the Church, the matrix of all Churches.

It is the head See—the head of the Churches—the head of the members.

It is the See of the Apostle Peter ;

The Apostolic See ;

The Chair of Peter ;

The rock on which the Church is built ;

It is the fountain—and other Churches are the streams.

There the primacy of the Apostolic See has always existed.

This See has the primacy.

Rome is the head of all Churches.

There is the Apostolic THRONE ;

To it all must have recourse.

He is profane, an alien, one without, an Antichrist, who is separated from Rome.

He has no inheritance who is separated from the Holy See.

Peter lives and presides in his See at Rome.

The *whole* Church recognises Peter, in the See of Peter.

Peter is the prelate of his Chair, and primate of all Bishops.

Such are a few of the thousand expressions referring to the supremacy of the Holy See. Let us now adduce a few passages in reference to the Pontiff. The expressions have, of course, the same one tendency and object, and meaning ; but I have purposely thus classed them to fix the reader's attention :—

The Pontiff is the Vicar of Peter.

Synopsis of
patristic evi-
dence rela-
tive to the
Supremacy.

He is the fisherman's successor—the heir of Peter's administration.

He has the place of Peter; his authority is derived from Peter.

To him are entrusted the gate and the sheep. Peter and Peter's successors guard the sheep.

Him the sheep should follow.

He holds the helm of the Church.

His is a dignity entailing a solicitude for all the Churches.

He has the charge of all;

He has the primacy in all things.

The Pope is *the* Archbishop;

The chief Pontiff;

The Bishop of Bishops—the primate of all Bishops;

The Archbishop of all the habitable world—of the whole world.

He is the head of the world—others are his members.

United to him, Christians are united to Christ—those separated from him, *are without*—they are Antichrists.

With him, they are on the rock—on Peter.

Such are the declarations of the Prelates of the East and of the West—prelates whose virtues, and learning, and orthodoxy, are of world-wide celebrity. Admit this evidence, and oaths against Rome will cease; reject it, and you shatter to atoms the evidences of Christianity: for think you that more positive statements or more direct proofs can be adduced of the belief of Apostles and of the primitive Church in favour of the divinity of the Son, or of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son? Is there as much extrinsic evidence for the

Terms of
honor and
distinction
applied to
the Popes;

results of
rejecting
this evi-
dence;

first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, the second Epistle of St. Peter, the Epistle of St. Jude, the Revelations or the second and third Epistles of St. John, as is here presented, for the supremacy of the Pontiff of Rome? I answer fearlessly—and this answer I give after having for years studied, and carefully, too, the evidence for the canonicity of the sacred Scriptures named—that there is *not* as much evidence for those sacred Scriptures as has been offered to the reader in favour of the authority of the Pontiff. Deny, then, the force of this latter evidence, and what do you do? You undermine the authority of the Scriptures themselves, and sap, as far as you can, the foundations of Christianity. For give up the Scriptures, and the rationalist will easily show you how you cannot stop fairly there. You will be forced to deny and to deny, till the whole of revelation is abandoned. It seemed a little thing to a certain person to deny that God had made the flea; after this admission, he was induced to deny the creation of the fly by God; and thus, by little and little, the Manichæan persuaded him to deny even the creation of man himself by the great Creator! Infidelity in one point begets, if things are pushed to their legitimate conclusions, a general infidelity. Where such results do not follow, this is to be ascribed either to a merciful interposition of Providence, or to a want of logical inferences. The evidence, then, is complete; no Christian can fairly resist it: the Pontiff of Rome is the successor of St. Peter; and as his successor, he is possessed of ecclesiastical supremacy. He is the Shepherd, and we are his flock. He is the head, and we are his members. He is appointed to rule and govern us, and we, like good and obedient subjects, must show our reverence for the Vicar of Jesus Christ, and the

it is greater
for Rome
than for
many books
of Scripture.

Infidelity
only requires
the abandon-
ment of one
Divine prin-
ciple.

Expressive
language of
St. Bernard.

successor of blessed Peter. To him we may very fittingly address the language which St. Bernard made use of to Pope Eugenius. "Who art thou? A great priest: a high priest: thou art the prince of Bishops: thou art the heir of the Apostles; in primacy, an Abel; in government, a Noe; in patriarchate, an Abraham; in order, a Melchisedeck; in dignity, an Aaron; in authority, a Moses; in jurisdiction, a Samuel; in power, a Peter; in unction, a Christ. Thou art he to whom the keys have been delivered, to whom the sheep have been entrusted . . . Thou art the one shepherd, not only of the sheep, but of all pastors. . . . Others have been called unto a part of solicitude; thou hast been called unto the plenitude of power. The power of others is restrained within certain limits; thine is extended over those who have received power over others." —l. ii, *de Consid. ad Eug. S. P. c. viii.*

Declaration
of the Coun-
cil of Flo-
rence

As a conclusion to this important chapter, I will cite the words of the Fathers of the Council of Florence, held in 1439, for the purpose of reuniting the Greek to the Latin Church; as also those of the profession of faith of Pope Pius IV, in order to show what has been expressly defined in a general Council, and what is professed in the last exposition of faith ever promulged by Papal authority. The following is the conciliary definition:—"Moreover, we define that the holy Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff hold the primacy over all the world, and that the Roman Pontiff is himself the successor of the blessed Apostle Peter, the prince of the Apostles; and that he is the true vicar of Christ, and the head of the whole Church, and the father and teacher of all Christians; and that to him in blessed Peter was delivered by our Lord Jesus Christ the full power of feeding, ruling, and governing the universal

Church, in such manner as also is contained in the acts of Œcumenical Councils and in the sacred canons.”—*Def. S. Œcum. Syn. Flor. Con. Gen.* t. xiii, p. 515, *Labbe*. In the profession of faith of Pius it is stated, “I acknowledge the holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Roman Church to be the mother and mistress of all Churches; and I promise and swear true obedience to the Roman Pontiff, the successor of blessed Peter, the prince of the Apostles and the Vicar of Jesus Christ.” Such is the definition of a general Council, and such the profession of faith drawn up during the Pontificate of our fourth Pius, to counteract the teachings of modern heretics in the sixteenth century.

Chapter the Fourth.

CONTENTS.

Necessity of Union with Rome—This a consequence of Previous statements—Proved by many striking passages from the Fathers.—By virtue of this union alone, is any Church entitled to the name of Catholic.—Protestantism not Catholic in any sense.

Is union with Rome necessary, so necessary that without it no one can be a member of the one Church established by Jesus Christ? The answer to this query is obvious from what we have already said. If the Roman Pontiff be the successor of St. Peter; if on him, as Peter's successor, the whole Church be built, and to him the sheep be all entrusted; if he be the centre of unity, it follows, as a necessary consequence, that union with Rome is necessary to orthodoxy, and that no one can claim the name of Catholic who is not also a Roman Catholic; that is, no one can be a Catholic who is not in communion with Rome, since through Rome alone Catholicity is possible. Now, we have already shown, and at considerable length, that the Roman Pontiff is the successor of Peter, and that to him, as such, the sheep are committed. On Peter, the rock, the Church is built, and whoever is not on this rock is not in the one Church of the Saviour. To the authori-

No one a Catholic who is not in communion with Rome.

ties already alleged, we again remit the reader, not only to those in which it is said that "to the Roman Church all must resort, that *it* is the centre of unity, that without all are profane and Antichrists," and to a thousand other similar and equally pointed observations, but to the catalogues of the Roman Pontiffs, to the appeals to and decisions from Rome, and to the submission exhibited by the leading prelates of every age to the prescripts of Rome.

In addition to what has been said, I will adduce a passage from the eloquent and learned Optatus of Melevis. His words should convince the fautors of the Anglican heresy, that if their present position were submitted to the judgment of antiquity, they would have no chance of escaping condemnation. The present estimation of Rome by Catholics is that of all previous ages. "But you say that you have a certain share in the City of Rome. This is a branch of your error, shooting forth from falsehood, not from the roots of truth. In fact, if Macrobius be asked what chair he fills in that city, can he answer Peter's chair? which I do not know if he even knows by sight, and unto whose memorial, like a schismatic, he has not approached, acting in opposition to the Apostle who says, '*communicating with the memories of the saints.*' Lo! there are the memorials of the two Apostles. Say, has he had ingress to them? or has he *offered there* where it is certain are the memorials of the saints? It remains, therefore, for your colleague, Macrobius, to acknowledge that he sits in the place where once sat Encolpius; and could Encolpius be questioned, he would answer, that he sat where Bonifacius Ballitanus sat before him; and could he be questioned, next he would say, there where Victor Gabensis sat, he who was sent by your party from Africa some time

S. Optatus.

His mode of
arguing
against
Heresiarchs.

back to a few wanderers. How is this, that your party could not have, in the City of Rome, a Bishop that was one of its citizens? How is it that Africans and strangers only are well known to have succeeded each other in that city? Is not the craft apparent? the factiousness which is the mother of schism. Meanwhile the cause of Victor being sent from this country—I do not say like a stone cast into a spring, for he could not trouble the people of that Catholic country—but because certain Africans chose to fix their residence in that city, and they were known to you to have left this country, *they petitioned that some one might be sent to them from this place, to gather them into an assembly.* Victor accordingly was sent: there he was a child without a parent—a pastor without a flock—a Bishop without a people. For the few that, out of forty Churches and more, had not a place wherein to meet, were not to be called a flock or a people. Under these circumstances, they fenced round with hurdles a sort of cave outside the city, wherein at that time to hold their conventicle, whence they got the name Montenses. Wherefore, as Claudinus is known to have succeeded to Lucianus, Lucianus to Macrobius, Macrobius to Encolpius, Encolpius to Boniface, Boniface to Victor, if Victor had been asked where he sat, he could neither show that any one was there before him, nor point to any Chair *but the chair of pestilence.* For pestilence sends its victims, killed by diseases, to hell, and hell is known to have its gates, against which gates we read that Peter received the keys of safety, Peter our Prince, to wit, to whom Christ said, ‘To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the gates of hell shall not overcome them.’ Whence, then, is it, that you strive to usurp unto yourselves the keys of the king-

dom of heaven, you who sacrilegiously fight against the Chair of Peter by your presumption and audacity. . . . Since, then, *it is manifest, and clearer than the light, that we are in connexion with so many countless nations, and that so many provinces are in connexion with us*, you now see that *you, who are but a portion of one country, are by your errors separated from the Church, and in vain claim for yourselves the designation of the Church with its marks, which are rather with us than with you*; marks which it is evident are so connected together and indivisible, that it is felt that one cannot be separated from the other. For they are indeed reckoned by distinct names, but they are united in their body (the Church) by a single act of the understanding, as are the fingers in the hand, which we see are kept distinct by the divisions between them. Whence he that holds one must hold all, as one cannot be separated from the rest. Add to this that we are in possession, not of one, but we have them as peculiarly ours. Of the aforesaid marks (*dotes*), then, *the Chair is*, as we have said, *the first, which we have proved is ours through Peter*; and this mark carries with it the angel (or jurisdiction).”—*De Schis. Donat.* l. ii, n. 4-5. No one can, I think, read this passage without making the application. Every syllable might obviously be addressed to the Anglican Church. It exposes its want of Catholicity in referring to its being only the part of a nation, whilst with Rome the nations of the world are in communion. It exposes its want of Apostolicity in being severed and torn from the Apostolic Church; for should a few wanderers travel as far as Rome, professing Anglicanism, would they not be forced to go *outside the walls*, there to form a congregation? There are hundreds of Churches in the

This argument literally applicable to Protestantism.

Apostolic City, but not one for them. They must *petition* some Dr. — to leave his barren island to enable them to celebrate their new rites. Optatus, who was in communion with the Catholic world, thought his argument conclusive; so does the world in communion with the first See still consider it. Who think otherwise? Those who are separatists, like Victor, and Boniface, and Encolpius; those who derive their jurisdiction from Herod instead of Christ, from a lay instead of a spiritual ruler, sitting in the Chair of Peter—those, in fine, who are conscious of the newness of their system, and of their entire dependence on the state from which their system sprung.

St. Ambrose's statement in respect to his Brother's mode of judging of Church membership.

ST. AMBROSE makes the following beautiful and striking statement about his Brother Satyrus's conduct when shipwrecked near the island of Sardinia. "He was not so eager as to cease to be cautious. He called the Bishop to him; and not accounting any grace true which was not of the true faith, he inquired of him whether HE AGREED WITH THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS—THAT IS, WITH THE ROMAN CHURCH. And it happened that in that spot, in the midst of the schism of that country, there was a Church. For Lucifer had then separated himself from our communion; and although he had been banished for his faith, yet Satyrus did not think that faith is to be found in schism. For although they might retain their faith towards God, yet did they not retain it towards God's Church, whose members like limbs they suffered to be divided and lacerated. For as Christ suffered for the sake of the Church, and the Church is Christ's body, faith does not seem to be shown to Christ by those by whom his suffering is made void, and his body is separated."—t. ii, l. 1, *De excessu fratris*, n. 47.

This is the language of a Catholic; whether of the fourth, fourteenth, or nineteenth century it matters not. The Church of a world—a Catholic Church can use it—in the mouth of an Anglican, of the fautor of an establishment, of Church of Englandism, it is absolutely absurd. Compare the language of St. Jerome, addressed to Pope Damasus, cited at page 79, with that of St. Ambrose, and it will be seen that Jerome at Bethlehem and Ambrose at Milan had a common language and the same belief. St. Jerome is always emphatic when referring to the Roman Church. To the examples already adduced, add the following from his work against Rufinus:—"What faith does Rufinus call his faith? That which the *Roman Church* holds, or that which is contained in the books of Origen? If he answer, that which the Roman Church holds, then we are Catholics."—*Apol. adv. Ruf.* l. 1.

S. Jerome calls the Roman the Catholic faith.

"It is certain," says Pope Boniface, "that the Church of Rome is to the Churches over the whole world as the head is to its own members; from which Church whosoever has cut himself off, has become an alien to Christianity, from the time that he began not to be in this fellowship."—*Ep. xiv, Epis. Thess. t. ix, Galland*, p. 57. Mark too the unhesitating language of John, the Patriarch of Constantinople, who thus writes to Pope Hormisdas, in reference to the abjuration of the memory of Acacius. "We hope to be in one communion with you, declared by the See Apostolic, in which there is the integrity of Christian religion and perfect solidity; and we promise not to recite hereafter in the sacred mysteries the names of those who have separated themselves from the communion of the Catholic Church; that is to say, who agree

Letter of the Patriarch of Constantinople.

not in all things with the Apostolic See.”—*Epist. ad Hormisd.*

St. Austin.

Those only really Catholics who are every where denominated Catholics.

In fine, the following passage will readily enable every person to see which is the Catholic Church, and how obligatory it is to be in union with it. “The Christian religion is to be held by us, and the communion of *that Church which is Catholic, and is called Catholic*, not only by its own members, but also by all its adversaries. For in spite of themselves, even the very heretics and disciples of schism, when speaking, not with their fellows, but with strangers, call the *Catholic Church* nothing else but the *Catholic Church*; for they cannot be understood unless they distinguish her by that name, by which she is designated by the whole world.”—*St. Augustine*, t. i, *de vera Relig.* n. 12, col. 1214. “Catholic,” as Pacian observed in his days, “is my surname.” Every Catholic says and feels this; and this is felt to be a fact by the opponents of Catholicity. Some of these enemies strove to steal our name; but the attempt only exposed them to the laughter of a world, and the pity of the bulk of even their own party. Whilst the onomamania lasted, bickerings and divisions endured; and now Anglicans are content with the name of Protestant, or if they prefer it, with that of Puseyite. There is only one ministry which is known and acknowledged to be Catholic; there is then but one Church which is known and acknowledged to be Catholic: for if the ministry be Catholic, the Church must be so. There is only one Church to which that title is applied, and by which it is designated. This is not the Protestant Church of England;—of its ministers it is said, those are Protestant Parsons; and of its Churches, that is a Protestant Church. Nor is it *the* Independant, or the Baptist,

St. Pacian. Vain attempts of Anglicanism to claim this name.

or the Wesleyan, or the Hallite system; no: the Church in communion with Rome alone, is called, and everywhere known to be, Catholic. All the countries professing the faith of Rome are called Catholic countries; and every individual professing that faith knows that he is a Catholic. Protestantism, in all and each of its phases, he repudiates as soon as it is named: it is not Catholic; that is enough. How long a period must elapse before Englishmen begin to feel the folly of pretending to be Catholics, whilst their principles destroy Catholicity; and of saying with Sunday seriousness, "I believe in the holy Catholic Church," whilst they believe in no Church at all; and only recognize a *Protestant* Establishment? All may say those words truly; but how? By returning to the rock from which they have been separated, and entering the flock of which Peter is the Shepherd.

Countries in
Communion
with Rome,
alone Catho-
lic.

Chapter the Fifth.

CONTENTS.

The British Church from its origin, Catholic—Recent denials of this futile—Many British documents destroyed—Cause of this—Details on this point.—The arguments of Burgess, Stillingfleet, and Palmer in favor of an independent British Church, absolutely null and void.—History of the Origin and Establishment of the British Church, derived from *Bede*, *Llyver Teilo*, and *Triads*,—British Prelates at Arles and Sardica, in union with the Pope and the rest of Christendom.—Rise of Pelagianism. History of Pelagius—his country, doctrines, condemnation and wanderings.—Messengers sent to Britain to crush the heresy—History of Germanus.—Answers to modern objections relative to this Mission.—Withdrawal of the Roman Legions from Britain—Sad results both to Church and State on this event and the rebellion of the Saxons.—Who these were—Still continuous evidence of the faith and dependence of Britain down to the establishment of the Saxon Dynasty.

SINCE what is here written, is written for the special benefit of Englishmen not in communion with the holy and Apostolic See, it may be useful and interesting to investigate whether or not our forefathers, even from the earliest period of our ecclesiastical history, were united to the See of Peter; and whether they spoke and acted in reference to the Holy See precisely in the same manner

Where our
forefathers
in commu-
nion with
Rome?

as the East and West did: appealing to Rome, referring to her, from her deriving assistance in the hour of need, and speaking of her as the head, the centre of unity. It will be evident to every person: 1° That if the British Church was not the Church *of a sect*, of a body of men not professing the form of faith which Jesus Christ had handed down, it will have been in communion with Rome; for as we have seen, all but sectarians were in communion with Rome throughout the world: and 2° That communion with other nations, themselves in communion with Rome, is a sure test of England being too in communion with Rome, and holding the same language and belief in respect to Rome which the other nations held. Hence we have many ways of examining what was the belief of the British Church: and whether we adduce the direct evidence of history, in attestation of the actual faith and practices of the British Church, or the indirect evidence of the faith and conduct of other Churches with which Britain communicated, the conclusion will ever be found to be one and the same. Now it is evident to every one who has studied, even superficially, the early ecclesiastical history of this country, that Britain was in communion with other nations which were in acknowledged communion with the Holy See, with nations, to whose greatest authorities we have, in the previous chapters of this work, been constantly referring. Still, notwithstanding this fact, and the conclusions which should have been drawn from this important circumstance, the dependence of the British Church on the Roman Pontiff has been loudly denied. During the recent outpourings of the vials of wrath on the devoted heads of Catholics, the cry has been again and again repeated: England formerly possessed an independent

The answer can be derived from direct and indirect statements.

Britain's union with Rome, foolishly denied.

The position
of our Ad-
versaries.

Church; Rome originally had no authority over us: from her we received, to her we owe nothing:—our faith came to us from the East, and if eventually the East was comparatively forgotten, and the Western throne was looked up to with respect, this is to be ascribed rather to the boldness and ceaseless ambition of Rome, which never rested till it beheld the nations of the earth tributary to her, than to any inherent right of the Pontiff of Rome to govern Christendom.

Scarcity of
direct
evidence.

This being the case, it will not be considered supererogatory, if we examine the relations which existed between the Churches of England and Rome prior to the 30th day of March, 1534, when the union between the two was dissolved, and the Church *in* England, from being a portion of the Catholic Church, became the Church *of* England—an Establishment raised up by the power or the weakness of a parliament: an insular Church, unsettled and fluctuating like the waves of the sea which wash our shores. Unfortunately for us direct documentary evidence is not very abundant in respect of the early history of the conversion of this country: time, and enemies worse than time, wars and religious hate, having destroyed numerous records, which would materially have helped our investigation. The Saxons cared not for, nay they hated and recklessly destroyed nearly every memorial of British faith, as Gildas, the British historian, informs us. “If there were any records in Britain, they were either burnt by our enemies, or carried away across the seas, on the banishment of our countrymen, so that there was nothing of them to be seen.”¹ And the Dane treated the Saxon as the Saxon had the Briton; from shore to shore

British
documents
destroyed by
the Saxons,

¹ Gildas, § 4, p. 13.

all was ruin. Nothing was spared; nor cathedrals, nor churches, nor monasteries, nor libraries. Speaking of the latter, Alfred thus expresses himself, in his preface to his translation of St. Gregory's pastoral. "*I thought, how I saw before it was all spoiled and burnt, how the Churches throughout England* STOOD FILLED WITH TREASURES AND BOOKS."

As Saxon documents were, by the Danes,

Nor will any one wonder at the conduct of the barbarous Saxon, who remembers what happened in England as late as the sixteenth century, at the dawn of the *glorious* Reformation. Then, as Fuller observes, "all arts and sciences, fell under the common calamity. How many admirable manuscripts of the fathers, schoolmen, and commentators, were destroyed by this means? What number of historians of all ages and countries? The Holy Scriptures themselves, as much as these gospellers pretended to regard them, underwent the fate of the rest. If a book had a cross on't, it was condemned for Popery; and those with lines and circles were interpreted the black art, and destroyed for conjuring. And thus divinity was profaned, mathematicks suffered for corresponding with evil spirits, physic was maimed, and riot committed on the law itself."—*C. H.* b. vi, p. 335. Bishop Bale, speaking of the destruction of the conventual and monastic libraries, a destruction which he designates "a most horrible infamy unto England for ever," says, that the purchasers of the monastic property "reserved those library books, some to serve their jakes, some to scour their candlesticks, and to rub their boots; some they sold to the grocers and soapsellers, and some they sent over sea to the bookbinders, not in small numbers, but at times whole ships full, to the wondering of foreign nations. I judge this to be true, and utter it with heaviness, that neither the

and these, &c., by the Reformers of the 16th Century.

Britons under the Romans and Saxons, nor yet the English people under the Danes and Normans, had ever such damage of their learned monuments, as we have seen in our time. Our posterity may well curse this wicked fact of our age, this unreasonable spoil of England's most noble antiquities."—See Declaration on Leland's Journal, Anno 1549, apud *Fuller, C. H.* b. vi, p, 335. ¹ Still we are not without documents; ² and all things considered the evidence to be derived from them is of a far more conclusive character than might have been at first anticipated.

No Christian
Church in
Britain be-
fore the year
179.

Of the establishment of a Church in Britain before 179 we have no kind of evidence. That there were Christians here, and in no inconsiderable numbers, is certain; nor will anyone wonder at this, who calls to mind the intercourse between Rome and Britain, resultant from the civil subjection of the latter to the former country; but of a Church establishment there is not one single record. Usher, and Stillingfleet, and Burgess, and Palmer, have, by maintaining the existence of an independent British Church even prior to the period named, only demonstrated the influence of prejudice, which distorts and multiplies with prismodic power every object subjected to its action. Assuredly those who can discover in the "cloudy" lines of Gildas, ³ Eusebius, or Theodoret, the existence of a

¹ On this matter see *D'Israeli's* Curiosities of Liter. vol. i, p. 85.; *Marshall's* pref. to Dugdale's Monast.; Ingram's Memorials of Oxford, vol. ii; Art. Bodleian Lib., and Collier, E. H. b. iii.

² It has often occurred to me, that documents of vast importance may still be found in connexion with the British Church, either in the Vatican or some of the ancient Libraries of France. May some future Mai realize my anticipations.

³ Gildas having given the history of Britain during the three first ages

British Church established in the Apostolic age, or in the few words ordinarily cited from Clement, Jerome, and Chrysostom, proofs of the founding of a British Church here by St. Paul, ought not to overlook, or explain away, or reject such authorities as are about to be adduced in favour of the conversion of the Briton and Saxon by messengers from Rome, and of the dependence of these Churches on the Apostolic See.

The contrary opinion unproved.

As we have shewn in a foot-note, the passages adduced in favour of a Pauline and independent Church, are valueless. They neither assert that St. Paul founded the Church in Britain, nor that that Church was independent. But the positive authorities on the other side are clear;

of Christianity, next proceeds to describe the persecution of the Christians at the beginning of the fourth century. Before doing this, he alludes to the conversion of Britain; but the time he no where mentions: it was *whilst* Britain was in abject subjection to Rome; but beyond this *INTEREVEN* no time is assigned. Eusebius obviously is describing the conversion, through the ministry, of all the nations which had been Christianized down to his time; to *admit* anything less than this is to make his meaning simply false and ridiculous. That this is the meaning too of Theodoret's words, is obvious from his own qualifications of what he had previously stated. In one line he seems to say, that all nations had been converted by the Apostles; but in the next we are told that the Apostles did this through their successors. The passage from St. Clement, Bishop of Rome, never mentions Britain. To give it any force at all, we must suppose that *τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως* means Britain, an assumption which no scholar will admit. I think with Lingard, vol. i, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, pag. 353, that the expression applies best to Rome.

Refutation of the assertion of a Pauline Church.

St. Jerome, like Clement, does not so much as allude to Britain. Paul preached in the West, which every one allows; this he says, but no more!

Chrysostom says, as Theodoret observes, that Paul evangelized some islands in the Mediterranean. What then? He evangelized Britain? The passage ordinarily adduced, and strange to say, even by Alford, from Venantius Fortunatus, is exceedingly inapplicable. This poet of the sixth age is simply speaking of the spread of *St. Paul's Epistles* through the world.

they state distinctly that Britain received its faith and Church from Rome, and that it retained this faith which it had once received. We will at once proceed to prove this position.

V. Bede.

We are told by Venerable Bede, that during the Pontificate of Pope Eleutherius—he was Pontiff from 179 to 194¹—“Lucius, king of the Britons, sent a letter to him entreating him that *by his command*, he might be made a Christian. He soon obtained his pious request, and the Britons preserved the faith which they had received, uncorrupted and entire, in peace and tranquillity, until the time of the emperor Diocletian.”—l. c. What is here stated is proved by nearly every kind of document. In the ancient work entitled *Liber Landavensis*, or *Llyfer Teilo*,² reference is made more than once to the letter sent by Lucius to the Pope, and to his subsequent conversion by messengers sent from Rome. In chapter i, section 4, it is stated, “that the Pontiff received a letter from Lucius, a king of Britain, that he might be made a Christian *by his command*.” This Lucius, surnamed Lleuver Mawr, or *the great light*, is generally supposed to have ruled over a territory, now comprehended in the county of Monmouth and part of Glamorganshire, and to have been honored by the Roman emperors with the title of king of the Britons. Nor does the work referred to leave us in ignorance of important details. At pp. 65, 66, of the edition of 1840, we are told, “that in the year of our Lord 156, Lucius,

The British Church, founded by Pope Eleutherius.

Lib. Land.

¹ The date 156 in V. Bede is incorrect. See c. iv, l. i, H. E. Muratori says, that Eleutherius was Pope from 170 to 185. I have followed Sandini.

² For information about this work, see the pref. of the edition published in 1840.

king of the Britons, sent his ambassadors, Elfan and Medwy, to Eleutherius, who was the 12th Pope of the Apostolic See, imploring, according to his admonition, that he might be made a Christian; to which request he (the Pontiff) acceded: for, giving thanks to his God, because that nation, which from the first inhabiting thereof by Brut had been heathen, so ardently desired to embrace the faith of Christ, he, with the advice of the elders of the Roman city, was pleased to cause the ambassadors to be baptized, and on the receiving of the Catholic faith, Elfan was ordained a bishop, and Medwy a teacher (*doctorem*)³.

Through their eloquence, and the knowledge they had of the Holy Scriptures, they returned preachers to Lucius into Britain: by whose holy preaching Lucius and the nobles of all Britain received baptism, and according to THE COMMAND⁴ of St. Eleutherius, the Pope, he constituted the ecclesiastical order (hierarchy), ordained bishops, and taught the way of leading a good life. Which faith of the Christian religion they preserved free from any stain of erroneous doctrine until the Pelagian heresy arose, to confute which, St. Germanus, a bishop, and Lupus, were by the Clergy of Gaul, sent to Britain. For the Britons had often previously sent messengers to them requesting aid

King Lucius and his people baptized, and the hierarchy established.

³ It is strange how uniformly our ancient writers style Medwy a *doctor*. I suppose that the term simply involves a negation of Episcopal consecration, and the appointment to teach the one faith of Rome.

⁴ It is painful to find an author like the Rev. W. Rees, mistranslating so plain a word, occasionally, as the word *mandatum*. Whilst in the passage last given, the word *mandatum* is rendered faithfully, in the previous passage the same word is translated by *his means* *Mandatum: means!* The Latin is plain: "Hic accepit epistolam a Lucio, Britanniae rege; ut Christianus efficeretur *per ejus mandatum*. See the translation at pag. 306, Lib. Landav. Ed. 1840. A Dr. Busby is surely wanted.

against such dreadful danger, disapproving of, but unable to confute the wicked doctrine of the heretics."—*Lib. Landav.* p. 310. In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the same event is thus recorded at the year 167. "This year Eleutherius obtained the Bishopric of Rome, and held it in great glory for twelve years. To him, Lucius, king of Britain, sent letters, praying that he might be made a Christian: and he fulfilled that he requested. And they afterwards continued in the true faith till the reign of Diocletian." Geoffrey of Monmouth, l. iv, c. xix, xx, refers to a work published by Gildas, which contained an account of those who returned from Rome with Fagan and Dervan, (Duvanus) after these two saints had received from the Pontiff a confirmation of all that they had done, whilst labouring to effect the conversion of the Britons.

Ang. Sax.
Chronicle.

Geof. of
Monmouth.

Nennius.

Nennius, in his history of the Britons, § 22, says, "after the birth of Christ, one hundred and sixty-seven years, king Lucius, with all the chiefs of the British people, received baptism, in consequence of a legation sent by the Roman emperor and Pope Evaristus." Obviously Evaristus is put for Eleutherius; and Usher says that he saw in one *MS.* of Nennius, the name of Eleutherius.

Gotcelinus.

The British prelates, even in the time of St. Augustine, remembered Eleutherius. As Gotcelinus tells us, in their reply to St. Augustine, the British bishops authorized their observances "by the authority of the *holy Pope Eleutherius, their FIRST FOUNDER*, as also by the practices of their holy fathers, the friends of God and followers of the Apostles."¹ And if we consult the Triads, we shall have

¹ See also on this head, the second vol. of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, pag. 308, article "Inscription at Llanvair Waterdine," by the late Sir S. Rush Meyrick.—And Gotcelinus in *Hist. Major.* c. xxxii.

still further proof of this foundation of the British Church by messengers sent hither by Rome.

In the eighteenth Triad, the first of the three holy families is said to be that “ of Bran the blessed, the son of Llyr Llediaith; for Bran was the first who brought the faith of Christ to this island from Rome, where he was in prison through the treachery of Certismandua.” In the thirty-fifth Triad, mention is made of “ three blessed princes of the Isle of Britain: first, Bran the blessed, son of Llyr Llediaith, who first brought the faith of Christ to the Cambrians from Rome, where he had been seven years as a hostage for his son Caradog, whom the Romans put in prison,” &c. Again: it is said that Lleirwg (Lucius) made the first Church at Llandaff, which was the first in the Isle of Britain, and bestowed the privilege of country and nation, judicial power, and validity of oath, upon those who might be of the faith of Christ.”—*Ibid.* And the sixty-second Triad observes, in reference to the three Archbishoprics of the Isle of Britain, “ the first was Llandaff, of the gift of Lleirwg, the son of Coel, the son of Cyllin, who first gave lands and civil privileges to such as first embraced the faith in Christ.” Bran returned from Rome a Christian; but it was not in his time that the Church was established according to the Triads. This occurrence dates from the period assigned to it by Venerable Bede—from the time of the conversion of Lucius. Then we first hear of the erection and endowment of Bishoprics, and history records the names of the prelates. Of this we shall have to write at some length later. Nor are other monuments wanting in proof of this advent from Rome of missionaries. The names given by our chroniclers to the Papal messengers are Dyfan, Ffagan, Medwy, and

The Triads frequently refer to this origin of the British Church.

They agree with V. Bede.

Churches
testify to the
coming of
the first
Missionaries

Elfán. Now, as Mr. Rees observes in his essay on the Welch Saints, pp. 82—6, there are in the neighbourhood of Llandaff four Churches, which are called after the names of the royal proselyte (Lucius) and the three first-named missionaries. These Churches are a *standing record* of the tradition of the Cambrian Church, relative to the introduction into that country of the Christian Church. They tell us that whilst Lucius was king, the Pontiff sent hither Dyfan, Ffagan, and Medwy, to establish Christianity. This is the statement of every positive document which has come down to our times. Further, Nennius, as we have seen, speaks distinctly of this conversion of Lucius, and, as Collier well observes, from Bede downwards, we have the concurrent testimony of abundance of historians for this matter of fact.¹

It is now time to pass to another branch of evidence ; to pass from the writings of our own country to the evidence which may be derived from the connexion of this with other lands which have been shown to have held communion with Rome, and to have considered this communion *the* great proof of orthodoxy. If we may rely on the list of Chorepiscopi of Llandaff, as they are incorrectly called, published as an appendix² to the *Liber Landavensis*, from a manuscript presented to Mr. Rees by Taliesin Williams, the fourth occupant of that See was Edelffed,

Adelfius, &c.
at Arles.

his predecessors being Dyfan, Ffagan, and Elldeyrn. This Edelffed is commonly supposed, though this is incapable of proof, to be the Adelphius who assisted with a large body of prelates of the West at the Council of Arles

¹ H. E. vol. i, p. 27, Ed. 1845. To this edition I shall uniformly adhere.

² *Ibid*, p. 622.

in 314, and subscribed a document, of great interest to us at this stage of our investigation. The name of Adelfius occurs among the subscriptions to the Council as Bishop of Col. Lond.—a title which has puzzled every historian—together with those of Eborius of York, and Restitutus of London.³ At the conclusion of the sittings of the Fathers at Arles the prelates addressed a letter to Pope Silvester, to which was annexed a copy of the canons framed in the Synod. In this letter they 1°, thus salute the Roman Pontiff: “Joined with the common band of charity and with the tie of unity of our holy mother the Church, we salute the most religious Pope with deserved reverence.” 2°, They regret that the Pope had not assisted in person at their Council, for if he had been there “the sentence passed would have been more severe.” 3°, They declare of the See of Rome, that “*there the Apostles daily continued to sit*, and their blood continually attested God’s glory.” 4°, They state that they communicate their determinations to the Pope “*that these may be made known to all* by him who holds the mightiest diocese.” 5°, In the preamble to the canons, they tell the supreme Pontiff that “what had been decreed with common consent, they have made known to him, in order that *all* may know what to observe hereafter;” and in the first of the twenty-two canons they decree, “that Easter shall be observed on the same day and at the same time; and that the Bishop of Rome shall give notice of it according to custom.” From what

This Council at which British Prelates assisted, in union with Rome.

³ Labbe Concil. i, 1430. Lingard supposes that Col. Lond. is an obvious misprint for Col. Lind. or Lincoln, which is called Lindum Colonia by the anonymous historian of Ravenna, and Lindicolinum by V. Bede (see Bede ii, c. 16—18), and Lindocolinum by Geoffrey of Monmouth, l. ix, c. 3. Cressy maintains that Maldon in Essex is the place referred to (book vii, c. x, p. 128, C. History of Britain).

has been thus briefly stated, it follows, 1°, That our prelates were in communion with the other prelates of Christendom—with those of Spain, Gaul, and Africa—and in an especial manner with the Roman Pontiff. 2°, Him they salute with *merited* reverence, and hail as the most religious Pope. 3°, To him is the task assigned of communicating to other Churches what has been decreed elsewhere, and of making known what is to be observed. 4°, So far from denying that Peter as well as St. Paul had been at Rome, the usual expression relative to their still occupying that See is adopted. 5°, Nor do they affect to have conformed to the Eastern mode of keeping Easter: they evidently had received the true, the Roman mode of calculating the Pascal solemnity, and it was their wish that the Roman should be the only received and recognised custom. And if further we refer to the nineteenth canon, we shall discover that the service of the Church was *a sacrificial offering*, even as it now is—not in the Anglican establishment—but in the Catholic Church. “It hath seemed good regarding foreign Bishops, when they come into a city, that opportunity be afforded them to offer the sacrifice.”¹ There are two plain conclusions to be drawn from this: 1°, England was united to the rest of Christendom; she was not then an insular Church, the Church of England, and this is obvious from the very first words of the letter to Pope Silvester, in which reference is made to the common bond by which they were all united to the Catholic Church. 2°, England looked up to Rome with

The British Church kept Easter, like the Roman Church.

Catholic Prelates, had a Sacrifice.

¹ De peregrinis Episcopis qui in urbem solent venire, placuit eis locum dari *ut offerant*.—Can. xix. Every scholar must know the meaning of the ecclesiastical term, *offerre*; and yet even Collier thus translates it: “Liberty to consecrate the Holy Sacrament!”—in l.

reverence, and believed that she would watch over the common interests and observances of Christianity. Taken in conjunction with the other documents of the times, as well as separately, this Council offers its quota of evidence to the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff. What the faith of France, Spain, and Africa, represented at Arles, was, in and prior to the fourth century, we have already seen. Hence, even if we had not had such a document as the preceding handed down to us, we should have inferred that Britain, which sent her prelates to Arles, did not differ in any respect from the other Bishops there assembled regarding the supremacy of Rome. But this document makes all this clear; it prevents the possibility of cavil; for its existence is the fruit of the conviction that "*to the Chair of Rome all must have recourse*," as St. Irenæus well expresses it.

Inferences
from the
previous
Evidence.

In the year 347, we find British Bishops again in Council at Sardica, called at present St. Sophia. On this head we have the testimony of St. Athanasius² himself, in whose defence this Council was convened, and at which 376 persons assisted, 300 being Eastern and the remainder Western prelates.³ Osius, who presided at the Council of Nice, as we have already seen, here sat as President in the place of the Roman Pontiff; and every word uttered adds a fresh proof to those already adduced of the belief of the Eastern and Western world in the Roman primacy. In the most express terms the Pope is called *head*; Rome is declared to be the See of Peter; and to this See, it is further stated, it is most fitting that the Bishops of each province should have recourse. "It will be seen, (*these are*

British
Prelates at
the C. of
Sardica.

² Athan. Apol. ii, et Epist. ad Solit. Vit. agentes.

³ Sozomen, l. iii, c. ii.

Here again,
our Prelates
united with
Rome.

the words of the prelates,) to be best and most proper if the Priests of the Lord¹ from each particular province make reference (or send information) *to their head—that is, to the seat of Peter, the Apostle.*"² This is the language of all ages: it is the language of the Britons of the fourth age, and it was the language of Englishmen in the fourteenth. Assuredly the idea of repudiating Rome's authority, and of setting up an insular Church, had not been entertained when British prelates sat at Sardica. Provisions were likewise made in this Council in case of appeals from the decisions of particular Bishops, or of reclamations against the sentence of deposition which Bishops when assembled together might be induced to pronounce against a fellow-bishop. It was provided that appeals to Rome were to be admitted, and that no person whatever should be appointed to succeed him who had been deposed but who had appealed to the justice of Rome, until the decision of the Holy See had been received.³

In the East, the Church had long waged war against various heresies which were aiming a deadly blow at Christianity, by striking at the divinity of Christ himself. Arianism, propagated by the zeal and eloquence of Apostate ministers, and the influence of the Imperial Court, had given incessant occupation to the orthodox party. It had spread far and wide. As V. Bede observes, "it had infected not only the Churches of the Continent, but even

¹ "Domini Sacerdotes" is an usual designation of the Bishops, the Chief Priests.

² The evasions of Collier, vol. i, p. 81, &c., are pitiful specimens of Protestant criticism. Men never seem so little, or so unjust, as when shunning the evidences of Catholicity, or of Christianity in general.

³ See Canons iv, v, vi, vii.

those of the Islands, with its pestilent and fatal doctrines;”⁴ but it had not been able to find a resting-place here: it was detested by the British Church. St. Hilary, from his place of exile—he had been banished into Phrygia by the Arian Constantius—congratulates the British prelates in 358 on their orthodoxy, and regrets that owing to circumstances he had been deprived of the gratification of receiving letters more frequently from them:⁵ and a similar testimony is offered us by St. Athanasius, and the other Bishops assembled in Council at Antioch in 363, in a letter addressed to the Emperor Jovian. Speaking of the faith approved of at Nice, they say that “the Churches all over the world, particularly those of Spain, Britain, Gaul, &c., were unanimous in receiving the Nicene creed.”⁶ Hence the observations of Bede, l. 1, c. viii, must, I think, regard a period considerably later than the one which at the first reading they may seem to refer to. They rather point to the duration of peace than to the beginning of discord.

S. Hilary's and S. Athanasius' testimony as to the faith of Britain.

Britain's day of trial at length came; it came from one of her own people; from the ‘*British Snake*,’ Pelagius, to make use of the emphatic language of St. Prosper.⁷

⁴ E. H. l. i, c. viii.

⁵ De Synodis *in init.*

⁶ Ταύτη σύμφηφοι τυγχάνουσι πᾶσαι αἱ κατὰ τόπον ἐκκλησίαι αἱ τε κατὰ τὴν Σπανίαν καὶ βρεταννίαν, καὶ Γαλλίας. κ. τ. λ. Athan, p. 309. Ed. Comelin.—Theod. l. iv, H. E. c. iii.

⁷ Carmen de Ingratis, c. i. It seems strange that doubts, or more than doubts, have been raised about the country which gave birth to Pelagius, when nearly all, if not all, his contemporaries distinctly state that he came from Britain. See Marius Mercator in Common. ad Lect. Adv. Hæres. Pelagii et Cœlestii, p. 30, § 2. Orosius in Apol. Augustinus, Epist. 186 alias 106, c. i, § 1, also the Maurist Preface to the tenth vol. of St. Augustin, § 1, and Venerable Bede, l. i, c. x. I am not ignorant

Pelagius

This man, during the reign of Arcadius (394—407) “began (*to use the language of Venerable Bede*, l. i, c. x) to spread far and near the infection of his perfidious heresy against the assistance of divine grace, being seconded therein by his associate Julianus of Campania, whose anger was kindled by the loss of his bishopric, of which he had been just deprived. St. Augustin, and the other orthodox fathers quoted many thousand Catholic authorities against them, yet they would not correct their madness: but on the contrary, their folly was rather increased by contradiction, and they refused to embrace the truth.” This heresiarch, whose real name is said to have been Morgan, but which, in accordance with the spirit of the times, was changed for its corresponding Greek term, Pelagius, is generally supposed by our earliest chroniclers to have been educated at the schools of Bangor Iscoed, in the county of Flint.¹ If this be true, it must be admitted that there was no want of learned teachers in North Wales; for St. Augustine and others admit that Pelagius was really a learned man, and this is easily proved from his writings which have come down to us. Towards the end of the fourth century, he visited

born in
Britain.

whilst writing this, either of the Treatise of Garnier on Palagianism, or of that of Vossius; nor have I forgotten St. Jerome's crude expressions in connexion with the supposed country of Pelagius—“*Nec recordatur Stolidissimus et Scotorum pulibus prægravatus.*”—Præf. in Hier. l. i, or those of my learned friend, the Rev. J. B. Morris, in his excellent work—“*Jesus the Son of Mary,*” vol. i, p. 78.

¹ Bale and Pitsius call this School—“*Bannochorensæ Christianorum philosophorum Collegium.*” For further information, see William's *Cymry*, page 217, note *. This book must be read however with great caution; for it is at once incorrect, and a party work: a glance at the table of contents, *Article, Doctrines*, will prove this at once.

Rome,² where he met with an Irishman of great talent and considerable learning, of the name of Cœlestius,³ with whom he began to disseminate with great caution, but, as it would seem, with little success, his peculiar doctrines.⁴ He remained in Rome till 410, at which time owing to the descent of the Goths on the Eternal City, he fled to Sicily. Afterwards he visited Africa and Palestine; but he had not been long in the latter country when he was summoned to appear before a Synod, convened at Diospolis, to render an account of the theological opinions which he had publicly advocated. The charges brought against him, not being clearly established, Pelagius escaped condemnation.⁵ In Africa, his cunning proved less successful. There he and Cœlestius were in 416, three times condemned; first by a council assembled at Carthage, next in a Synod which met at Melevis in Numidia, and afterwards by a larger and more influential assemblage of Prelates at the first-named place.⁶ Zosimus confirmed the sentence of the African Fathers, and Honorius the Emperor banished the dogmatizers by edict from Italy in 418. Thus Church and State alike stood forth in the character of determined antagonists of Pelagianism. After this time we lose sight of Pelagius. Some say that he died in obscurity in the East; whilst others maintain that he returned broken hearted and dejected to the land of his birth, there to regret his folly in abandoning the

Broaches his heresies.

Is condemned at Carthage.

² August de peccat. Orig. c. Pelag. c. xxi.

³ St. Austin tells us that some of the Pelagians called themselves Cœlestians, and St. Jerome denominates this friend of Pelagius—"The leader of the Pelagian army."—Epist. ad Ctesiphon.

⁴ St. August. de pecc. Orig. contra Pelag. c. xxi.

⁵ St. Aug. l. ii, c. xlvii, retract.

⁶ Idem. Epist. cvi, &c.

Pelagianism
imported
into Britain.

Church of his baptism, and teaching a doctrine opposed to the traditions and teaching of the whole of Christendom.¹ We have no evidence that Pelagius published here his heresies in person; to one of his followers this calamity is ascribed by our native writers. As Venerable Bede observes²—"Agricola, the Son of Severianus, a Pelagian Bishop, was the first to introduce into this country the Pelagian heresy." He was not however allowed to ravage at pleasure the flock of Christ.—"Pope Celestine, at the request of the deacon Palladius, *sent in his own stead Germanus the Bishop of Auxerre* in the year 429; and he, having driven out the heretics, guided the Britons to the Catholic Faith."³ This statement is made by Prosper, a Gaul by birth, than whom no better authority could be desired; for he was Secretary to the very Celestine who commissioned Germanus to act as his legate in Britain. Nor is this fact only once mentioned by the Papal Secretary. In his work against Cassian, Prosper again refers to it. He tells us that Celestine, "with no sluggish care, freed Britain from the disease of Pelagianism, when he drove out from their hiding place in the ocean, some natives, enemies of grace; and by ordaining a Bishop for the Irish, made a barbarian island Christian, whilst he was studying to keep a Roman island Catholic."⁴ Could we bring forward no other evidence, in favour of this

Confuted by
Germanus,
sent hither
by Pope
Celestine.

¹ The obscurity into which the heresiarchs of nearly every age have quickly fallen, is truly surprising. Most of them out-lived their reputation; whilst others, as Henry VIII, Luther and Cranmer, have become in the countries which followed them for a while as guides, objects of contempt.

² H. E. l. i, c. xvii, and Prosper, in Chron. ad Ann. 429.

³ Prosper, in Chron. ad. Ann. 429 vel 433.

⁴ Prosper contra Collat. c. xli.

Papal mission, this fact would be abundantly established: for 1° this testimony has never been impeached: 2° it is contemporaneous evidence: 3° it is the evidence of one of the leading men of the age: and lastly, it is the evidence of one who of all other writers had the best chance of being rightly informed, in consequence of his singular position as Papal Secretary. Germanus obeyed the Pontiff's voice. He came accompanied by Lupus of Troyes,⁵ and in a public controversy silenced the Pelagians.⁶ The orthodox were confirmed in their faith; of the lapsed, numbers sued for readmission into the Church; whilst the enemies of religion were for a while completely confounded. "Vanity was convinced, and perfidiousness confuted, so that at every objection made against them, not being able to reply, they (Pelagians) confessed their errors."⁷ God confirmed the faith by the signs which followed. The faith of Gaul and Britain and Rome, was one; and that faith had the divine evidences in its favour.⁸

Result of his mission.

From what has been said, it follows, 1° That the Roman Pontiff watched over the spiritual interests of this as of

⁵ They are called in our Annals, Garmon and Bleiddian: there are various spots which still preserve the names of these Apostles.

⁶ But where did this controversy take place? Boetius says at London; whilst others, as Florilogus, point to Verulam. See Flor. ad Ann. 446. The latter seems the correcter opinion. See Usher, c. xi.

⁷ V. Bede, l. i, c. xvii.

⁸ Germanus restored the blind daughter of a Tribune to sight, by applying to her eyes a casket containing the relics of saints, which he carried about him at all times, suspended from his neck. Bede, l. i, c. xviii. This is not the only *popish* fact recorded in this chapter. 1° Germanus took a small quantity of dust from the spot where St. Alban's blood had been spilt, to carry away with him. 2° With the priests he went to St. Alban's tomb, there to give God thanks *through him*. 3° He left in the tomb some of the relics which he had brought with him.

Beneficial
results of
union with
Rome.

other countries. 2° He sent his legate hither at the beginning of the fifth century, and this legate was received as a true worshipper and believer by the Britons. 3° Heaven approved the teaching of the Missionaries. 4° Evidently, even in the smallest points of their history, Catholicity shines forth clearly; it appears as much in the carrying of relics, and picking up the dust hallowed by the blood-spilling of the proto-martyr of England, as in the refutation of Pelagianism. It further follows, that the Pontiff had some peculiar cause for interesting himself so much about the spiritual welfare of Britain; which cause all our previous observations abundantly explain: that cause was his Supremacy. The British was not an isolated Church, ignored by France, ignored by Italy, and refusing to receive and to hold communion with the Bishops of other Churches. No: it was a member of the Church Catholic, and as such was in communion with Rome. Had Britain been then isolated as she now is, what would have been her fate? Her prelates unable to compete in the arena of controversy with the Pelagian, would have betrayed the cause of truth, and thus a general apostacy would have been the probable result.

To a Pope, then—Eleutherius—we are indebted for the foundation of the British Church; and to a Pope—Celestine—is to be ascribed its preservation. The former sent Fagan and Medwy to convert the Britons, and the latter sent Germanus to preserve the faith of the converted. Lucius wrote to Rome, because he knew what even Pagan emperors knew, that the *head* of Christendom resided at Rome; and Palladius appealed to the Pontiff from exactly the same motive. To the request of both, the Pontiffs acceded; because they were well acquainted with

the extent of their obligations: they felt that theirs was the solicitude for all the Churches, and that to them had been committed the faithful of every country.¹

¹ This is perhaps the most fitting place to meet an objection which has been eagerly grasped at by the Anti-Catholic party, relative to the mission of St. Germanus, and the character which he held whilst in Britain. Overlooking the decisive and irrefragable authority of Prosper, these authors turn to an obscure passage in Constantius, *de Vita Germani*, l. i, c. xix, and to two other passages, one taken from V. Bede, l. i, c. xvii, and the other from the *Liber Landavensis*, pp. 66 and 310, which are interpreted as asserting that the Gallican prelates only, sent Germanus hither: and from which they infer—to adopt the language of the author of the *Cymry*—, “that this statement refutes altogether the idea that the mission of the Anti-Pelagian champions originated with the Bishop of Rome.” But 1° Were we to admit for a moment, that these three authors are of opinion that the French bishops came hither without any instructions or powers from Rome, what follows? That they had no such powers? Assuredly not. This rather should be the conclusion: these authors were mistaken: for one, *and he a contemporary, who could not have been ignorant of the facts of the case*, states the very reverse. Constantius, Bede, and the Llyfer Teilo must then be corrected by Prosper, and not Prosper by them. 2° I will adduce the words of the earliest of these writers in the first place: this author is Constantius. In the place referred to he says, “An embassy sent to the Gallican bishops from Britain, announced, that the Pelagian perversity had spread widely in some places among the people, and that succour should be given to the Catholic faith, as soon as possible.” Who sent this embassy? What particular bishops were appealed to? What assistance was sent to the *British prelates*? Of this there is not a word. And does it follow that, because, as was very natural, Britain instantly applied to the neighbouring Church of Gaul for assistance, *therefore* assistance was not asked for and sent from other quarters? that because one Church, and that the nearest, was made aware of the difficulties of the British Church, therefore Rome had not been referred to also? This is strange logic. Does it follow again, that, because the Gallican prelates sent hither Germanus, they had not received instructions from the Pontiff to send some persons as his representatives? Now it appears to me, that the text of Prosper explains, and most satisfactorily, what is wanting in Constantius, and what is referred to in the *Liber Landavensis*. After the words which we have already cited at page 129, “which faith of the Christian religion they preserved free from any stain of erroneous doctrine, until the Pelagian

Reconciliation of the statements of Constantius, &c. and Prosper.

Second visit
of S. Germanus.

But though Pelagianism had been materially weakened, it was not dead. It again revived in 447, and Germanus was summoned to the British shores a second time. His victory was soon gained; and at the wish of the people, the heads of the Pelagian faction were banished. Severus of Treves, was the companion of St. Germanus on this memorable occasion. "All things being settled, the blessed prelates returned home as prosperously as they came," and as V. Bede still further observes, "the faith in these parts continued long after pure and untainted."¹

Calamities of
Britain—
their origin.

From the time of St. Germanus' second visit in 447 down to the middle of the next century, the British Church can hardly be said to have an historical existence. The interval was one of trouble and sorrow, and it may not be uninteresting or useless, briefly to sketch the cause of these sorrows and troubles. The inhabitants of Britain had under the mild sway of Imperial Rome, enjoyed for a considerable time the blessings of peace. The legions of Rome had stopped those feuds and civil wars, which had for so many ages deluged this country with blood; and the natives began to feel and enjoy the blessings resultant from a

heresy arose," immediately occur the following, "to confute which, St. Germanus, a bishop, and Lupus, were, by the chief clergy of Gaul sent to Britain. But the Britons had often previously sent messengers to them, requesting aid against such dreadful danger, disapproving of, but unable to confute the wicked doctrine of the heretics." Here then is a clue to the difficulty. In the text of Constantius, reference is made to only one message; in the *Liber Landav.* it is stated that messengers had often been sent. Why at last do the prelates of Gaul bestir themselves? The answer is plain from Prosper: because the Roman Pontiff, having been made acquainted with particulars, had given an order to that effect. On receiving this order, "the synod was called," to which Bede refers, "consultations were held," and at last it was agreed that Germanus and Lupus should be sent. Thus all the authors are easily reconciled.

¹ l. i, c. xxi.

dependence on a power which civilized whilst it ruled, and protected whilst it demanded the homage of submission. But the legions could no longer be spared either for the government or the protection of Britain: they were required at home. Alaric the king of the Goths had as early as 409 taken Rome, and his death alone prevented an immediate dismemberment of the mighty Empire. Rome was saved for awhile: but the prestige which had guarded her name was gone. She was known not to be invincible; and with the spread of this knowledge, hords of savage barbarians poured down upon her, marking every step of their victorious progress with ruin and blood. The distant colonies were abandoned, and these having lost the common guardian of their rights and liberties, soon became a prey to civil contentions and party strifes. This was the case with Britain: and Picts and Scots² taking advantage of the native dissensions, poured into the country bands of savage and hostile forces, which incessantly harrassed the original inhabitants of the land. To save his country from these invaders, Vortigern sought and obtained aid from the Saxons. But the cup of misery was filled to overflowing by those very men from whose assistance safety and happiness had been expected; for after assisting the Britons for some time, the Saxon turned upon and overcame those whom they had sworn to assist and defend. Britons were displaced by Saxons³

Rome attacked by the Goths.

Her colonies abandoned.

Vortigern seeks for aid from the Saxons,

² Gildas describes these invaders as a savage race, "who had more hair on their ruffian faces than clothes on their backs."—Sect. 19, p. 307, Ed. 1848.

³ Under the appellation, SAXON, I include three distinct peoples: the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. The Saxons came originally from Asia: they are the Sacæ of Asia. Leaving the East in large bodies, they settled in the districts between the Elbe and the Eyder, and afterwards extended their

and the doctrines and rites of Christianity were succeeded by the impure and idolatrous worship of Thor and Woden, and of a multiplicity of gods of wood and stone. During this period of invasion and dismemberment, little is heard of the British Church. The song of religion was drowned by the din of battle; and its lessons of peace were unheard during the confusion attendant on invasion and treachery. What little is said, is in general very gloomy: we are told by Gildas, himself a Briton, a monk, and a witness for a time of the disorders and overthrow of his countrymen, that "the Saxons fired the Churches, murdered the inhabitants, and destroyed, as far as was possible, every vestige of Christianity." As V. Bede too observes, l. i, c. xv, "Public as well as private structures were overturned, the priests were everywhere slain before the altars; the prelates and the people, without any respect of persons, were destroyed with fire and sword, nor were there any to bury those who had been thus cruelly murdered." These chastisements are ascribed, by both the authors named, to the anger of God, which had been provoked by the crimes of the people. "All the bonds of sincerity and justice were so entirely broken, that there was not only no trace of them remaining, but few persons seemed to be aware that such virtues had ever existed."—*V. Bede*,

By whom
the altars,
&c. of religion
are
overthrown.

Churches
fired and
Priests murdered.

Supposed
causes of the
chastisement.

territory to the Weser, the Ems, and the Rhine. The Angles, as *Æthelward Chron.* l. i, observes, came out of a region called Anglia, situated between the territories of the Saxons and Jutes. Their capital was called by the Saxons Sleswick, and by the Danes Haithy. From these conquerors England derives its present name. Hence it appears that the original seat of the *Angles* is a small province of Denmark, called at the present time Angel. The Jutes are from the Northern coast of the Cimbrian Chersonesus, still called *Jutland*. For the character of these people, see Cressy's *C. History of Britain*, p. 202.

l. i, c. xxii. The people, during this period of misrule, abandoned themselves to every excess; and the clergy, by imitating the vices of the people, added much to the misfortunes of their countrymen. Still there were some who remained faithful; and in the persons of St. Dubricius, who is said to have been consecrated bishop by St. Germanus,¹ on his second visit to this island, SS. Teilo,² David,³ and Oudocius,⁴ we find the virtues of the Catholic prelacy shining forth with a splendour worthy of a better country, and of better times. Nor is the love of the holy Roman See, or subjection to it, even during these days of disorder, without proof. In the *Liber Landavensis* the following words occur, at page 357: "This is the law and privilege of the Church of Teilo of Llandaff, which these kings and princes of Wales granted to the Church of Teilo and all its bishops after him for ever, *and was confirmed by the Popes of Rome.*" Here are recorded the grants, &c. And it may be as well to observe, that at this early period, frequent mention is made of the Apostolic sanction, concession, &c., when reference is made to the Holy See. In the life of Oudoceus, who flourished about the middle of the sixth century, it is stated: "*And as the Church of Rome has dignity above all the Churches of the Catholic faith,* so the Church of Llandaff exceeds all the Churches of Southern Britain in dignity, and in privilege, and in excellency."—*Lib. Land.* 373. No document could establish more clearly than this, what our

Still many
holy Prelates
in Britain,

and proof of
papal authority.

¹ *Liber Landav.* pp. 310, 621.

² He is said to have been Bishop of Landaff, in 512, *ibid.* 623.

³ He died Bishop of St. David's about the middle of the sixth century. *Ree's Welsh Saints*, pp. 194—201.

⁴ He was Teilo's successor. *Lib. Landav.* p. 625.

The British Priests sailed over to Rome to obtain their ends.

forefathers' belief was in regard of the Roman Pontiff. Indeed, one must be blind not to see Rome pre-eminent, and Britain subject to Rome, wherever mention is made of the respective prerogatives of the Apostolic See, and of the Church originally established here during the reign of Lucius. Even in describing the crimes of the priesthood, Gildas does not omit to allude to this authority of Rome, manifested in the journeys of Simoniacal prelates across the seas, in order to obtain the objects of their ambition. What seas were crossed, or what distant lands were visited for this end? The reader cannot fail to see that the British clerics sailed to Rome, even as the prelates did of whom St. Cyprian says, "*navigare audent ad Petri cathedram.*" Assuredly the ministers were not Protestants, who "stretched their hands over the venerable sacrifices of Christ," those hands which were anointed and blessed at their ordination, in whose Churches were altars, "the seats of the heavenly sacrifice"; and among whom were monks who had vowed poverty, chastity and obedience.¹

They offered up the mass.

The Britons retire into Wales,

We have witnessed the rise, progress and declension of Christianity among the Britons. The remnant of the nation which survived its overthrow, was located, in the sixth century, in Wales and Cornwall: there the race of Britons was preserved from utter ruin, and the faith of their forefathers was practised in a more or less perfect state. Britain was in the hands of the Saxons, and these Saxons were cruel idolators, whom the Britons had never endeavoured to convert. This is mentioned as one of their greatest sins, by V. Bede; and Matthew of Westminster

¹ See Gildas, pp. 37, 41-3-5, 76, 111, et alibi passim.

assigns the cause of this neglect. "Among other wicked actions," says V. Bede," they added this; they never preached the faith to the Saxons or English who dwelt amongst them."² Westminster thus urges his accusation:

"In one thing, the Britons were very reprehensible, and that one thing was, the *mortal hatred* which even to this day they bear to the English nation, by whom they were driven from their ancient territories; which hatred is so irreconcilable, that they would rather communicate with dogs than with the English." The children of hate ceased to be the children of the kingdom: and the graces which they had abused were offered to the Saxon. By whom, and when these graces were offered, and how they were corresponded with, will be the subject matter of our next chapter.

and there,
foster their
hatred of
the Saxon.

² L. i, c. xxii.

Chapter the Sixth.

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Intelligence
of the over-
throw of the
Britons
reaches
Rome.

THE news of the expulsion of the Britons from their native land, and of the overthrow of the altars of religion, soon reached Rome. The intelligence filled the Pontiff's heart with sorrow, and awakened an earnest desire to send fresh Missionaries to promulgate anew the law of the Gospel, and raise up the prostrate fabric of Catholicity. But this desire was long felt before it was realized: for there were many obstacles in the way, which the former Pontiff, Eleutherius, had not to encounter. The unsettled state of Britain; the barbarous habits of the new inhabitants; their hatred—perhaps too, contempt—for a religion

which had been professed by the Britons, whom they had oppressed; the cessation of that intercourse with Rome which had at an earlier period facilitated so materially the introduction of Christianity into Britain; and further, an ignorance of the language of Italy, rendered the conversion of the Saxon an undertaking of the most arduous character. The task, however, was at length undertaken: it was entered upon about the year 596, under the auspices, and by command of the Pontiff Gregory, whom posterity has honored with the distinctive title of *Gregory the Great*.¹ Whilst yet only a priest, he had entertained the noble design of converting the Saxons. He went to the Pontiff Benedict I, and earnestly "entreated him to send some ministers of the word into Britain, to the nation of the English, by whom it might be converted to Christ; declaring himself ready to undertake

The wish to convert the Saxon, hard to realize.

Still attempted.

¹ It is really distressing, to find an author like CHURTON writing a sentence like the following: "He (Gregory) was of Greek extraction, but born of honourable parents at Rome, where his grandfather, Felix, had been also Bishop; for at this early period it was common for the Bishops of Rome to be, like their first Apostle St. Peter, married."—*Early Church History*, p. 35. How to describe such a tissue of mis-statements, I know not. Since malice must not be supposed, this at least I will say; such a sentence proves the writer to be utterly worthless as an authority. For 1° Gregory was not of Grecian origin: he was of an ancient Roman and senatorial family, as his biographer, John the Deacon, distinctly states: "*genere Romanus*." 2° Felix was not Gregory's grandfather. Gregory in *hom. xxxviii*, in *Evang.* § 15, as also *l. iv, dial. c. xvi*, calls Felix "*atavum suum et Romanæ Ecclesiæ Antistitem*." *Atavus* may mean a grandfather's grandfather; it certainly cannot mean grandfather only. See Baronius in *annal. ad. an. 492*, § 1; Bollandus *ad diem xxv Februarii*, § 1, p. 503; and Papebrocius in *Conatu ad S. Felicem iii*, p. 156, n. 2. 3° All that even the shameless Bowyer dared state of Felix, was, that *he had been married*. Whilst Felix was married he was not *Pope Felix*. 4° The statement of Popes being married is a ridiculous libel, to which all history gives a flat contradiction. But for Mr. Churton's character, I should not have noticed him.

A specimen of Churton's ignorance.

by St. Gregory.

that work, by the assistance of God, if the Apostolic Pope should think fit to have it so done.”¹ The Pontiff, pleased with the piety and zeal of Gregory, was willing to grant his request, and allow him to become the first teacher of the Saxon; but the Romans could not be induced to part with one “so noble, so renowned, and so learned.”²

Origin of his feeling in favour of the Saxon.

The immediate cause of the interest which Gregory felt for the conversion of the Saxon, is recorded by V. Bede,³ John the Deacon,⁴ and Elstob,⁵ and as V. Bede says, “the account has been handed down to us by the traditions of our ancestors.”⁶ At the very moment in which some Anglo-Saxon slaves were being exposed to sale in the public market-place of Rome, it chanced that the holy monk, Gregory, passed that way. The beauty and innocent looks of the slaves rivetted his attention. ‘Who,’ he asked, ‘are those men,—from what country do they come,—and are they of infidel or Christian parents?’ He was told that the slaves were Saxons,⁷ and pagans. On this, feeling deeply affected, the monk exclaimed, ‘Alas!

¹ V. Bede, l. ii, c. i.

² Ibid. l. c.

³ Ibid. l. ii, c. 1.

⁴ Vita S. Greg. l. i, c. 21.

⁵ Hom. in Natal. S. Gregorii.

⁶ L. c.

Parker's ignorance exposed.

⁷ Parker, in his work entitled *Antiq. Britann.* p. 37, calls this account, which in substance is so well authenticated, a fable; and this is the ground of his doing so: there is no reason for supposing that the Saxons would sell their children. But this objection is wholly nugatory. For 1° We are told by Tacitus, that the German nations would even stake their own liberty on a throw of the dice.—(De moribus Germ.) 2° Malmsbury distinctly states that it was *usual* for the Saxons to sell their children.—(l. i, c. iii, de reg.) 3° Giraldus Cambrensis says, a decree was passed at a synod convened at Armagh to effect the redemption of Saxon slaves.—(De Hibern. Exped. l. i, c. 18.) 4° This is evident from no less an authority than St. Gregory himself, who, in a letter sent to Candidus, his procurator in Gaul, bids him purchase as many Saxon slaves as he can find.—(L. v, Epist. 10.) Can we suppose that Parker was ignorant of these and similarly conclusive authorities?

that the author of darkness should be possessed of men of such fair countenances, and that the minds of men of such graceful aspect, should be devoid of inward grace. . . . they have angelic faces, and it becomes such to be coheirs with angels in heaven.' ” He resolved at the moment to become their Apostle, and to help to change Angles into angels. What was his first step, we have already declared. When Benedict and Pelagius were dead, and Gregory had been raised to their high dignity, he vigorously urged on his former design of converting the Saxon. He looked around in every direction for men fitted, in his opinion, for the great and Apostolic labour ; but he found none superior to those whose abbot he had been in the monastery of St. Andrew. To these he addressed himself; he spoke to them of the greatness of the work on which he wished to employ them ; dwelt on the happiness and honor of leading a nation from idolatry to the worship of the one God ; and to animate them, and fill their breasts with an Apostolic zeal, he pointed to the eternal happiness which would crown their toils, and labours, and sacrifices for Jesus Christ. The monks soon felt all the enthusiasm of the Pontiff ; and when Augustine, the prior of the monastery, was appointed head of the mission, and several others ⁸ were named as his associates, all felt that a great

He selects his own monks for the task.

Augustine, &c. chosen,

⁸ How many started with St. Augustine, we do not know for certain ; but it would seem that only three were of his party ; Lawrence, Peter, and John. Mellitus, who is commonly said to have come over with Augustine, did not set off till four years later. See V. Bede, l. i, c. xxix. Mackintosh and Churton say, that St. Augustine left Rome with forty other Missioners ; but they have not given any proof of this statement. See Mackintosh, *Hist. England*, vol. i, p. 32 ; and Churton, p. 37. *Obviously the number arriving in England is confounded with the number starting from Rome.*

They leave
Rome,

are dis-
couraged,
and ask per-
mission to
return.

Gregory's
answer.

He writes
numerous
letters in
behalf of the
missioners.

honor had been conferred upon the Missioners elect, by the head Pastor of the Church. The Missioners lost no time in idle delays; they travelled with speed as far as Aix, or as some will have it as far as Lerins, in France, but there their courage failed. Fatigued by their journey, and discouraged by the reports which they received of the manners and dispositions of the Saxons, the Missioners longed to return to Rome, and to the peaceful retreat of their brethren at St. Andrew's; and by entreaties they induced Augustine to go back to the Pontiff, and ask for permission for himself and his companions, to abandon the enterprize of converting the Saxon. But Gregory would not listen to the proposal. He commanded Augustine to return immediately; wrote to the other Missioners, and begged of them to allow neither fatigue nor fear to prevent them from engaging, with all imaginable energy, in the work of conversion, and again and again he blessed them and their undertaking, in language of a truly Apostolic character.¹ Further, he sent letters to the bishops of Arles, Aix, Vienne, Autun, Tours, and Marseilles, and to the Patrician Arigius, who had received Augustine in the most kind manner, in which he commended to their charity and care the future Apostles of England. Nor did the Pontiff's zeal stop here. He addressed letters also to Theodric and Theodobert, kings of France, and to queen Brunecchild,² by means of which he endeavoured to secure to the Missioners every kind of assistance and attention. Thus recommended and assisted, the monks passed through France, crossed the Channel, and at last landed, in the Autumn of 596, at the Isle of Thanet,

¹ Bede, l. i, c. 23 and c. 24.

² See these letters in St. Gregory's works, l. v. Epist. 52-3-4-5, &c. &c.

in the company of several French priests, who, at the request of Gregory, had joined the Italian party, in order to act as interpreters. See *V. Bede*, l. i, c. xxv. Richborough is said to be the spot where Augustine and his companions first set foot on English ground.³

Augustine
arrives at
Richbo-
rough,

Ethelbert, the powerful king of Kent, was honored at this period throughout England by the high-sounding title of Bretwalda, or Sovereign of Britain. Whilst yet young he had married a Christian princess, Bertha, the daughter of Charibert king of Paris; who openly practised the religion of her baptism, and kept in her court the sainted Luidhard,⁴ who day by day offered up the holy sacrifice. From Bertha and her chaplain the youthful sovereign had received some information of the doctrines and practices of Christianity; and hence it happened, that when Augustine, who had landed on the Kentish territory, asked of the monarch permission to promulgate those truths to him and to his subjects, to announce which, he had left his own country for the country of the stranger, a most kind answer was returned. The king thanked him for his offer; promised to receive him and listen to any explanations he might give of his belief; and named the hour and place, when and where he and his companions were

and asks
permission
of Ethelbert
to preach.

³ Keyner in his *Apost. Benedictin.* p. 48, calls the place Ratesbourg. He says, that "Augustine, on quitting the ship, set his foot on a stone which yielded under the pressure as if it had been clay. It was taken up, and placed in a Church dedicated to his name, where it was visited each year, on the anniversary of the saint's demise, by a crowd of faithful people who sang the while "*Adorabimus ubi steterunt pedes ejus.*"

⁴ It is evident, both from *V. Bede* and *St. Gregory*, that the example of Luidhard had powerfully affected the idolators of Kent, and that they had sought for instruction from the neighbouring country of Gaul; but Gaul had not paid attention to this pious request. For this neglect the Frenchmen were severely censured by the Pope.

He goes preceded by the cross, to meet the king.

to appear before him. This kindness of the monarch filled the Missioners with hope and joy. At the appointed time they were seen marching in solemn procession towards the spot fixed upon. A silver cross headed the procession, next appeared a banner bearing an image of Jesus Christ, and a supplicatory prayer for England's conversion, chaunted in some solemn Gregorian tune—the tune was sacred, for the abbot Gregory had taught it them—announced the advent of the Roman Missioners.

Augustine's address.

It was in the isle of Thanet, whither the monarch had gone expressly for this object, that Ethelbert received the strangers. He received them in the open air, according to the Saxon custom, in order that if the Missioners were magicians or enchanters, their spells might be rendered powerless.—*Beda*, l. c. xxv. Augustine was ordered to sit down, and then to enter on his address. He did so: "he preached to the king and his attendants the word of life," (*Beda*, l. c.) and as an old Saxon writer observes, "told how the mild-hearted Healer of Mankind, by his own throes of suffering, set free this guilty middle-earth, and opened to believing men the door of heaven."¹ When the Missioner had finished speaking, the king thus answered: "Your words and promises are very fair; but inasmuch as they are new to us and uncertain, I cannot approve of them so far as to forsake that which I have so

¹ Churton blunders here as usual. At page 39, referring to St. Augustine's address as given by Southey from the *Acta Sanctorum*, he says, that "this speech seems to be the invention of a later age." On this point he may be right. But on what ground is this statement made? On this: "Augustine would not have called Gregory the Father of Christendom. These assumptions of the Popes did not begin till much later." Why we have already adduced much stronger titles, of an age long prior to Augustine's times. See page 109. And Venerable Bede, l. ii, c. 1, says of Gregory, "*he bore the Pontifical power over all the world.*"

long followed with all the Angles. But as you have come hither from a foreign land, and are desirous, as I conceive, to impart to us those things which you believe to be true and most beneficial, we will not molest, but will give you friendly entertainment, and supply you with what you want; nor do we forbid you to preach and convert as many as you can to your religion.”—*Beda*, l. i, c. xxv. He further permitted them to reside in Canterbury, the capital of his dominions, where he provided them with every requisite. The Missioners overjoyed, directed their steps to Canterbury in the same order in which they had gone forth to see the king. The silver cross shone resplendent; the figure of Christ arrested a thousand eyes, and the song “We beseech Thee, O Lord, in all Thy mercy, that Thy anger and wrath be turned away from this city, and from thy holy House,” fell sweetly for the first time on the ears of barbarians, as Augustine and his fellow-labourers entered the royal city of Canterbury. There immediately they commenced their Apostolic course; and in the old British Church of St. Martin’s, “met and sang, and prayed, and said Mass, and preached, and baptized.” The hour of grace for the Saxon had come.

Ethelbert's
reply.

Joy of the
missioners.

They return
to Canter-
bury.

Thus was opened the second mission from Rome. Monks sent by the Roman Pontiff began it—monks whose occupation it was to offer up day by day the holy Mass, as Venerable Bede informs us; and who bore the cross aloft, even as Rome now does everywhere, in honor of Jesus Christ, in solemn procession, as they entered on their important task. These *monks* were the Christianizers of the land; and the Christianity which they established was not without its evidences, as we shall soon prove to the reader. Had these Missioners *been expelled* BECAUSE

Monks our
Apostles.

Probable
results of
their rejection on Anti-
papal
grounds.

they had been sent by the Roman Pontiff; had the king looked upon this attempt to Christianize, as an insult and an aggression, BECAUSE attempted and set on foot by a foreigner; had his counsellors passed bloody laws, and strictly inhibited the introduction of bishops, who derived their titles and their jurisdiction from Rome; had the sight of the cross been hailed with derision, been called and considered an "obnoxious and superstitious symbol," and as such been hurried to the fire, sad had been the lot of our forefathers, and, likely enough, of ourselves too. England would, in all probability, have continued an idolatrous land; and Woden and Mars would have been worshipped instead of the one God. Catholic Missioners still go forth into every clime, sent by the Roman Pontiff; see them going to China and Japan, or see them hastening to Madura or to the Red Indian—they are ever going SENT BY ROME: the Missioners go with a Pontiff's blessing, even as Augustine went with his fellow-labourers. There has been obviously no change in this respect, from the year 596, to the year 1854. And what is the Missioners daily duty now? the same as formerly: to offer up the holy sacrifice; and as they offer it up they use the same sweet Latin tongue which Augustine used. And who go forth bearing aloft in solemn procession the Cross of Jesus Christ; who raise up that standard and place it everywhere so conspicuously, that Jew and Gentile alike are made to know that there are some men still in the world, who "blush not at the cross of our Lord and Saviour"? Who speak of this cross with marked reverence, and look upon every word of disrespect, such as "superstitious, obnoxious symbol," as highly criminal? Who do this, I ask? Catholics, and Catholics only. Even to the lifting up

Catholics
minister and
act now just
as August-
tine did.

of a symbol, the Church of the nineteenth century agrees, and perfectly, with the Church of the sixth age. Among us Augustine could now offer up the Mass, and carry the cross, even as he did when he appeared before king Ethelbert. He might rise up from his grave, and put on the vestments of religion, in order to offer up the sacrifice, or seize the cross to head a procession, or go forth before infidel princes to say that he was sent by Rome to preach the Gospel: his conduct would not appear to any Catholic strange; if it appeared strange to any class of persons, these would be either infidels, or men who had left the ancient for a modern creed.

Identity of
actual and
former
Catholicity.

Struck by the example, and convinced by the teaching of the Missioners, of the truth of Christianity, which by miracles was proved to be Divine, many of the Saxons believed and were baptized.¹ Ethelbert, the sovereign of the sovereigns in England, was soon converted and admitted to the rite of holy Baptism;² and his example was quickly followed by the conversion of thousands of others. The people of Kent seemed emulous of one another's example, and the deserted temples of heathenism bore witness to the change which had taken place in the public mind since the arrival of the Papal messengers. On the feast of Christmas only, 10,000 Saxons received the grace of Baptism.³ The conversion of one monarch led to the conversion of others. Moved by the example of the Bretwalda, other princes turned their attention to the study of

Ethelbert
is converted,

¹ V. Bede, l. i, c. xxvi.

² It is not clear when Ethelbert received Baptism. Dr. Lingard says that he was baptized at Pentecost; but his references do not seem to me to establish this date. See History of England, vol. i, p. 82.

³ See S. Greg. letter to the Patriarch of Alexandria, Eulogius. Epist. l. viii, Ep. 30.

As also
thousands of
others.

Joy at Rome
in conse-
quence.

Christianity: examination was followed by conviction; and thus kingdom after kingdom hurled down the idol, and raised up instead the standard of the cross. The Roman Pontiff was overjoyed when he heard of the results of his Mission, and of the proofs by which Heaven had established it. He wrote to Ethelbert to congratulate with him on the step he had taken, and to exhort him to persevere in the practice of every Christian virtue; and further, in testification of his affection, sent him some presents, "which, though small in themselves," the Pontiff hoped "would not be considered small, since they had been hallowed by the blessing of the blessed Apostle Peter."¹ He likewise addressed a letter to Augustine, beginning with the words, "Glory to God in the highest," full of holy joy and lessons of humility, suitable to the circumstances of the Apostle in this day of his nearly unexampled success; and another he sent on the same subject, to Eulogius of Alexandria.

Gregory
writes nu-
merous
letters on
the occasion.

The good news was communicated to the Pontiff by the priest Lawrence, and Peter, a monk, whom Augustine had sent to Rome. Gregory, as V. Bede tells us,² had arranged that if the Missioners were received by the Angles, and success crowned their endeavours, then Augustine was to be ordained bishop. Their labours had been blessed: accordingly Augustine went to Gaul, and in compliance with *the order* ³ of the Pontiff, was consecrated by Vergilius, Bishop of Arles, *Archbishop of the English*

¹ Ep. 60, l. ix, Epist. S. Gregorii.

² l. i, c. xxiii.

³ "*Juxta jussa*," says Bede, l. i, c. xxvii; or as Gregory himself expresses it, in the letter already twice referred to, to Eulogius, "*qui datâ a me licentiâ, a Germaniarum Episcopis, Episcopus factus est.*" The French bishops being *Franks* are hence called *Germans*.

nation, on the 16th day of November, 597, if the authority of Spelman can be relied on.⁴ To apprize the Pontiff of the conversion of the Saxon, and of the consecration of their superior, Augustine, was the cause of Laurentius' and Peter's journey. But they had another object in view: they were anxious to procure an increase of Missioners. They told Gregory of the greatness of the harvest, and of the fewness of the labourers, and humbly solicited that others might be sent over to help forward the good work. The Pontiff's compliance was easily obtained: he selected several Missioners, the principal of whom were Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, and Rufinianus, and these he loaded with *vestments* and *relics*, and whatever else was adjudged requisite or useful for the service and splendour of religion. To them also he entrusted the letters to Augustine and the king already mentioned, as also the pallium, which, as a mark of honour, the first Archbishop of the Saxons was permitted to wear during the oblation of the holy sacrifice. Furthermore, the Pontiff sent forth his instructions with regard to the establishment of the hierarchy; and the sees of the two metropolitans were distinctly specified. This document seems to me to be at the present time of such importance as to deserve to be presented entire before the reader. "Since," says the Pope, "the new Church of the English is, through the goodness of the Lord and your labours, brought to the grace of God, we grant you the use of the pall in the same, only for the performing the solemn service of the Mass; so that you in several places ordain twelve bishops who shall be subject to your jurisdiction; so that the Bishop of London shall, for the future, be always conse-

Who were sent to communicate the good tidings.

Gregory sends regulations with regard to the hierarchy.

⁴ Tom. i, Concil. p. 92.

crated by his own synod, and that he receive the honor of the pall from this Holy and Apostolical See, which I, by the grace of God, now serve. But we will have you send to York such a bishop as you shall think fit to ordain; yet so, that if that city with the places adjoining shall receive the word of God, that bishop also shall ordain twelve bishops, and enjoy the honors of a metropolitan; for we design, if we live, by the help of God, to bestow on him also the pall; and yet we will have him be subservient to your authority; but after your decease, he shall so preside over the bishops he shall ordain, as to be in no way subject to the Bishop of London. But for the future, let this distinction be between the Bishops of the cities of London and York,¹ that he may have the precedence who shall be first ordained. . . . But to you, brother, shall, by the authority of our God and Lord Jesus Christ, be subject, not only those bishops you shall ordain, and those that shall be ordained by the Bishop of York, but also all the priests in Britain;² to the end that from the mouth and life of your holiness, they may learn the rule of believing rightly, and living well, and fulfilling their office in faith and good manners, they may, when it shall please the Lord, attain the heavenly kingdom.”—*Bede*, l. i, c. xxix. Thus 1° The metropolitanical dignity was, according to this scheme, to be attached to the cities of London and York, and the order of precedence was to depend on seniority of consecration. 2° The archbishops were

London and York to be the great sees.

Still, all subject to Augustine.

¹ “As we have already seen, these two sees existed in the time of the Britons: their bishops having subscribed the decrees of the C. of Arles.

² “Tua ergo fraternitas non solum eos Episcopos, quos ordinaverit, neque eos tantummodo qui per Eboracensem Episcopum fuerint ordinati, sed etiam omnes Britanniae sacerdotes habeat, Domino Deo nostro auctore, subjectos.”—*Epist. Greg.* 271, apud *Bede*, l. i, c. xxix.

to receive the pall from Rome. 3° To each were to be assigned twelve suffragans, who were to select and ordain their respective metropolitans. 4° To Augustine was given a purely personal privilege—the privilege of ruling not only the new prelates, but also the older prelates of Britain; and this power was given him by authority of our God and Lord Jesus Christ.

Thus Gregory acted in the sixth century; and his successors, during the last twelve hundred and fifty years, have adopted a similar line of conduct. He claimed a power to send, by the authority of Jesus Christ, Missioners into every part of the world, and in every part of the world to establish sees; and so do the Pontiffs now, and so did the Pontiffs of all former ages. He raised sees, established archbishoprics, and made and enforced the observance of laws, with all the decision of an undoubted superior; and so did Gregory XVI, and so does Pius the IX, the present spiritual sovereign of Christendom. Gregory asked no monarch's permission, nor did he enter into any kingdom as if by stealth; he boldly claimed the exercise of his spiritual authority, independently of secular interference, in Britain and in France as well as in Italy. And if Venerable Bede write in after times, when Christianity was firmly established in England, a brief history of the Roman Pontiff, he will make use of language as unhesitatingly and as full of meaning as Gregory himself could have made use of. "Since by his zeal Gregory converted our nation, the English, from the power of Satan to the faith of Christ, it behoves us to discourse more at large of him in our ecclesiastical history, for we may and ought to call him our Apostle. Because, whereas he bore the *Pontifical power over all the world, and was*

Contrast of
the mode of
acting of
Pius IX and
St. Gregory.

Gregory's
supremacy
distinctly
affirmed by
Bede.

placed over the Churches already reduced to the faith of truth, he made our nation, till then given up to idols, the Church of Christ, so that we may be allowed thus to ascribe to him the character of an Apostle; for though he is not an Apostle to others, yet he is so to us; for we are the seal of his Apostleship in our Lord."—Lib. ii, c. i. Kings were, like Ethelbert, his children; metropolitans, even of the mightiest of kingdoms, as of France, were his legates, as the Bishop of Arles;¹ bishops were subject to his appointments; and if a prelate in England has not authority over those of Gaul, it is not, evidently, because the Pontiff cannot grant the power, but because, out of respect to his predecessors, he is unwilling, without necessity, to deprive one of power, to whom previous Pontiffs had granted it. *V. Bede*, l. i, c. xxvii.

Augustine
wishes to
meet the
Britons.

One of Augustine's first acts after his appointment as Superintendent over all the Saxon and British Bishops was an endeavour to meet the latter, with whose belief and practices he had made himself thoroughly familiar, in order to induce them to receive him as their Archbishop; to alter some observances relative to the time of keeping Easter and the *completion* of baptism; and to join with him and his associates in labouring to bring the Saxons to the knowledge of the faith and law of Jesus Christ. For this he left Canterbury, travelled to the Eastern borders of the Mercian kingdom, and eventually succeeded in procuring a meeting of several Bishops, prelates, and some of the most distinguished of the monks of Wales, at a place called for

¹ "Cui Ecclesiæ (Arelatensi) id honoris dignitatisque collatum est, ut non tantum has provincias potestate propria gubernaret, verum omnes Gallias, sibi *Apostolicæ sedis vice mandatas*, sub omni ecclesiasticâ regula contineret."—*Epist. Epis. Prov. Arel. ad Pap. Leonem*, p. 183.

some time afterwards *Augustine's Oak*, probably Austclive in Gloucestershire, near the banks of the Severn. Augustine was the first to speak. In a few words he explained to the assembled Britons their error relative to the paschal period, and referred to other *practices*, "which were against the unity of the Church;" and in language of the most fraternal character besought them to reform these customs, and undertake with him the labour of preaching the gospel to the Gentiles.² But neither kindness nor exhortation availed him. A warm and lengthened discussion took place; but the Britons would not yield either to the arguments or entreaties of the Archbishop. Augustine at length appealed to the interposition of heaven. He proposed that that tradition should be followed which should be approved by some miraculous cure; and at length his request was agreed to. The Britons endeavoured to cure a blind man who was brought before them; but heaven heeded not the reiterated prayer of the British ministers. Augustine next prayed; and lo! the blind man saw, and the very Britons were forced to acknowledge that Augustine preached the divine truth, and taught the way of righteousness. But though convinced, the Britons did not yield. They stated, "that they could not depart from their ancient customs without the consent of their people;" and a second synod was

The conference at:
Austclive.

He appeals to miracles in favor of his mission, and cures the blind.

² Bede, l. ii, c. ii, says this place was on the borders of the Wiccii and West Saxons. Others name Ossentree, near Merton, in Worcestershire, as the place of conference. The time of this meeting is still more uncertain. Randolph, of Chester, names the year 599; Spelman, 601; Sigebert, 602; and Florence of Worcester, Matthew of Westminster, Camden, and others, 603. Bede does not give the date, probably because he was ignorant of the exact time; and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is equally silent.

³ Bede, l. ii, c. ii.

earnestly asked for, at which that people should be more numerous represented. Augustine assented; and “another synod was held, to which there came (as is asserted) seven Bishops of the Britons, and many most learned men, particularly from the noble monastery called in English Bancornburg, over which the Abbot Dinooth is said to have presided at that time.”¹ The synod presented a scene of sad confusion. The British representatives, displeased with Augustine, who had not risen at their approach, charged him with pride, and laboured to contradict all his statements. In vain did Augustine endeavour to induce them to keep Easter with the rest of Christendom, and to complete² the sacrament of regeneration according to the custom of the Roman Apostolic Church; in vain did he request them to preach the word of God to the English; they refused compliance with all and each of his requests, and declared that they would never receive him for their Archbishop. Augustine foretold the result of this refusal to correspond with the heavenly call. He told them that, if they would not preach the way of life to the English, the English would soon visit them with the chastisement of death. And his prediction was speedily fulfilled. Three years after Augustine’s death, or, as Usher and the Ulster Annals more

A second conference.

The Britons displeased because Augustine did not rise.

Augustine is rejected:

¹ V. Bede, l. ii, c. ii.

² L. c: The words of Bede are these, “Ut ministerium baptizandi, quo Deo renascimur juxta morem Romanæ, sanctæ, et Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ COMPLEATIS. Giles, Collier, Churton, the Author of the “Welch Sketches,” and, in fact, every Protestant author I have been able to consult, all mis-translate and misinterpret these words. It was not about baptism, but the *completion* of baptism, that Augustine spoke. This *completion* means one of two things uniformly in the writings of antiquity; 1°, either the vertical unction; or 2°, the collation of confirmation. See Selvagio and others *in verbo*.

accurately state, nine years after that event, Ethelfred slaughtered a vast number of the British nation. Of the monks of Bangor, twelve hundred³ are said to have been slain, and only fifty survived to lament their fallen companions, and to sing over their remains the mass of *Requiem*. These few lines contain all that is authentic and certain relative to the two conferences between Augustine and the British prelates, and their results. A mighty structure, however, has been attempted to be raised out of these few materials; even an independent Church has been constructed out of them: but the building has no foundation; like a spectral form it cannot bear to be touched, much less examined; it vanishes into thin air as soon as ever the light of history or of criticism dawns upon it. During the course of the following observations the reader will be made acquainted with what has been superadded to the historic statement.

his awful prediction is realized.

Vain attempts to upraise an independent British church.

1°, Whoever carefully peruses the letters of Gregory directed to Augustine or to Ethelbert will at once perceive that he obviously claimed an universal jurisdiction,⁴ and

³ Bede, l. c.

⁴ But did not Gregory deny the Pontifical supremacy? repudiate altogether the very idea of supremacy? This has been asserted indeed, and is still asserted by several writers who have *as yet to study those very questions on which they have written volumes*. But the folly of the statement is made manifest, 1°, from the nature of the Popedom, as already explained; 2°, from Gregory's own voluminous correspondence; and 3°, from his constant practical claim to the supremacy which he is said to have repudiated. He is "the successor of Peter," he says over and over again, and as his successor he governs Christendom. But a reference to his letters will satisfy any one on this head. But on what is the common statement based? On this: the Pontiff censured and condemned absolutely the title of *universal* Bishop, which John of Constantinople had recently assumed. Now, have those who refer to this condemnation ever read the Epistles, a few words of which they cite? If they have, then I accuse

that he did not so much as contemplate the chance of any opposition to his enactments. He evidently believed that he had a right to establish bishoprics where he pleased and when he pleased; and he further expected that the British prelates would obey his orders, and receive Augustine as their primate. In this latter respect the Pontiff's expectations were not realised. They told Augustine that they would not receive him for their Archbishop; and for this act of disobedience Englishmen have lavished every epithet of praise on Dinooth and his associates; how unwisely the sequel will prove. 1° From the mere refusal of compliance, is inferred, as a necessary consequence, a denial of the authority commanding. *Because* Dinooth refused to obey Augustine, *therefore* he denied that the Pontiff, who sent Augustine, had any power over Britain.

Illogical inferences from the conduct of the Britons.

them of wilful misrepresentation. For 1°, *Therefore* does Gregory object to the word because it seemed to suppose that there was but one Bishop. Writing *ad Constant.* l. iv, *Epist.* xxxiv, he says, "Triste valde est, ut patienter feratur, quatenus *despectis omnibus*, prædictus frater et co-episcopus meus solus conetur appellari *Episcopus*." And l. iv, *Epist.* xxxvi, *ad Eulog.* "Si unus Patriarcha *universalis* dicitur, Patriarcharum nomen *cæteris derogatur*." And again, l. vii, *Epist.* 69 ad Euseb. "Si *unus universalis est, restat, ut vos Episcopi non sitis*." Thus understood, the word is heretical, as Bellarmine well observes, l. ii, de Rom. Pontif. c. xxxi. But if by the word *universal* be understood one who has a general care of the whole Church, whilst particular Bishops have a dependent care of certain parts of it, assuredly Gregory never did maintain that the Roman Pontiff was not thus *Æcumenical*. For 1°, St. Gregory tells us that this very title was offered to the Roman Pontiff by the Council of Chalcedon, which he always called holy and Catholic.—l. iv, *Epist.* xxxii. 2°, He says, *Epist.* xxxii, that "to Peter was committed the care of the whole Church by the Lord," which is to call him *Æcumenical in fact*. And 3°, that he, as Roman Pontiff, directs his care to all Churches (*universis Ecclesiis curam impendere*); and "that every Bishop is subject to him,"—"Nescio, quis ei *Episcopus subjectus non sit*."—l. ix, *Ep.* lix. See Perrone, vol. viii, page 427; Nat. Alex. Diss. 4 in Sæc. 1; and Sandini Vitæ Pontificum, vol. i, page 209.

Examination of St. Gregory's ideas of the primacy.

Now such an argument is obviously as foolish as it is illogical; for from it may be readily inferred the impossibility of rebellion against the State, and disobedience to authority in any form. Unless knowledge and practice are as necessarily connected as cause and effect, it is false to infer from the effect, disobedience or refusal to comply, a denial of the principle that obedience to the authority commanding is a duty. Man has free will, and he can use it for good or for evil: knowing what is right, he feels that he can do what is wrong, and he often does what is wrong. To search no farther for an illustration than the very first synod of which we have spoken: there the Britons allowed that a miraculous interposition would be a test of truth, and should be the condition of compliance with the heaven-attested tradition. But when the tradition opposed to their own was evidenced by miracles, those present contented themselves with exclaiming that Augustine was the Apostle of truth, and with demanding another synod, in which they adhered to their former unproved practices, and rejected those recommended by the miracle-working missionary. Here practice and belief did not tally: at one moment they admit a principle as unquestionable, and the next they act in opposition to that principle. But let us test the argument by parallel facts. It is well known that Pius VII dispossessed in the plenitude of his power the French prelates of their Sees. Archbishops and Bishops he deprived of their episcopal authority, and in their stead nominated other prelates to the dispossessed Sees. As a body, the prelates yielded instant compliance to the Papal mandate; but all did not do so. These said that the Pontiff had exceeded his powers; that his predeces-

Illustrated
by the con-
duct of the
Bishops of
France.

sors had established wise laws, which he himself would do well to observe; that he was acting from a pressure of circumstances to which he should not succumb; and that from the Pontiff ill advised they appealed with confidence to the Pontiff well advised. These and other reasons they adduced for refusing compliance *in one particular instance*, as the British prelates did; but rather than deny the supremacy of the Pontiff, they would as a body have willingly laid down their lives on the scaffold. Or, to point to another and a later instance, did the Portuguese priests located at Calcutta deny the supremacy of Gregory XVI, because they refused to submit to the newly-appointed Vicar Apostolic of the Indies. Assuredly not. Every fact connected with their history shows that they did not. And yet they were as stubborn as Dinooth and his monks, and caused Dr. St. Leger at least as much trouble and uneasiness as the Britons caused Augustine. They were refractory; they sinned; but there they stopped: they did not deny the article of faith that the Pope is the head of the Church. Why should not the same be said of the British prelates, especially after what we have stated relative to the belief of the British Church in the Roman primacy.

and of the
schismatics
at Calcutta.

2°, But did not the British prelates refuse obedience to Augustine, and decline to receive him as their Archbishop on this very ground, that Britain was independent of Rome, and that the British Church had never acknowledged the primacy of the Apostolic See? No: and in vain will any authentic document be consulted for any such observation.¹ Reasons for their disobedience are

¹ It cannot be expected of me to notice at any length Spelman's report of Dinooth's speech to Augustine; for the speech is a palpable forgery, as has been demonstrated by Turberville in an Appendix to his "Manual of

assigned, but these reasons involve any idea rather than that of independence. They feared the contempt of Augustine; this is the cause assigned by themselves for rejecting his authority. "If," they said, "he would not now rise up to us, how much more will he condemn us, as of no worth, if we shall begin to be under his subjection."²

Real grounds
of the rejection
of Augustine.

They rested, as is obvious from the account handed down to us by V. Bede, their reception or rejection of Augustine on one single act of his, in compliance with the advice of an aged hermit: if he rose to receive the British prelates, then he was to be followed; but if he received them sitting, then he was to be despised and rejected, because, being stern and haughty, he was not of God nor a servant of Christ.³ On Augustine's conduct—on his rising or sitting—all turned! No dogma was to be sifted—no question was to be raised in reference to the authority and power of him who gave Augustine his authority to rule the Saxon and British prelates. Is Augustine humble, or is he proud—is he a man who will treat us with honour, or one who will condemn us—that, and that only, was to be considered. Obviously private motives alone were in play; personal results were looked to, which assuredly would not

No dogma
involved.

Controversies," p. 401. The writer of the Welsh manuscript did not possess a knowledge of the ancient Cambrian alphabet, much less of the Cambrian language. Add to this his placing Bangor a few years after Augustine's arrival in England under the jurisdiction of Caerleon on Usk, when it is well known that the Archiepiscopal See had been transferred about twenty years previously to Menevia, and the spuriousness of the document will be evident. See for particulars the book referred to. Bede's account, l. ii, c. ii, with which that of Henry of Huntingdon, l. iii, p. 329, wholly agrees, is the only ancient history we have of the meeting of Augustine and Dinooth. Augustine never once refers to the authority of Rome, nor does Dinooth.

² Bede, l. ii, c. ii.

³ Ibid.

Evidenced
by the silence
of the Brit-
tons.

have been the case could the British prelates have with truth declared that they ignored the authority of the Pontiff and his emissaries, and claimed for the Church in Britain an independent and uncontroled existence. Their silence on this head, as well as their observations, all prove the same thing: that the British Church was not believed by the Britons themselves at the beginning of the seventh century to be independent of Rome. And a similar inference may be drawn from Augustine's silence. Had he believed that the prelates of the British Church did not believe in the Papal supremacy, he would assuredly have alluded to this, and would have insisted on their submission to Rome ere he invited them to join with him in converting the Gentiles. But on this matter he is wholly silent. He refers to the difference in keeping Easter, and in completing baptism; but of a difference about faith or headship, not a hint is insinuated.¹

No fair con-
clusion de-
ducible from
the supposed
fact of the
rejection of
the Popes, in
favour of
Anglicanism

3°, But what advantage can be derived by Anglicans from the fact, if admitted, of the repudiation by the remnants of a British Church of the authority of Rome? None, as far as I can see. For 1°, it would only follow that Britain had, during a century of disorder and bloodshed, cast off not only the practice of the morality of the Gospel, but also the faith which had originally been planted here by a Roman Pontiff. To side, in opposition

¹ Even the author of the *Welsh Sketches* allows that in St. Augustine's time there were no doctrinal differences between the Churches of Britain and Rome.—See page 106. I can hardly, however, call this writer an authority. At page 103, he is guilty of a blunder common in plagiarists, of saying that a Bishop of Hereford was present at the second Synod convened by St. Augustine. Need I tell the scholar that there never was a Bishop of Hereford till the year 680? Throughout these Sketches there is an air of pertness too, which, whilst it provokes a smile, causes a feeling of disgust.

to the whole Catholic Church, with such a profligate and small portion of the world; to prefer or equal its testimony to the testimony of those Churches spread through the length and breadth of Christendom, with which Britain had originally been in communion, and which were still illustrious for the learning, and sanctity, and faith of their prelates, and for their maintenance of the supremacy of the holy See, can neither show much judgment nor much regard for the evidences of Christianity. There is an independence resultant from violence and crime, as well as an independence resultant from right and divine appointment. Independence alone proves nothing; there is another element absolutely required to make it venerable; and that is, that that independence be a lawful and heavenly-approved state. But this latter point is entirely overlooked in this very extraordinary controversy.

Two sorts of independence.

That Britain was once in communion with Rome, and through Rome with the Catholic world, are plain facts: her forfeiture of those privileges during an age of crime cannot surely be referred to by men of religion or even of common honesty as the motive of their adhering to such a shattered fragment. Torn off from a mighty whole, the Church in Britain will not, it is hoped, be pointed to in after ages as perfect in itself, and made to be independent. The declarations of the Catholic world are not surely to be rejected, nor are the proofs adduced to be overlooked, because some men here, without evidence enough to substantiate the meanest cause ever submitted to the decision of a jury, dare to ding-dong in our ears the words, The British Church was originally independent of the Church of Rome. 2°, As we have observed already, the mission of Augustine was confirmed by miracles. These

The supposed independence to be traced to crime.

miracles are distinctly mentioned by St. Gregory in several of his Epistles, and by Venerable Bede; and the latter author tells us that the following words were inscribed on our Apostle's tomb:—"Here rests Dom Augustine, first Archbishop of Canterbury, who heretofore was directed hither by blessed Gregory, Bishop of the Church of Rome, and being supported by God by *the operation of miracles*, converted both King Ethelbert and his nation from the worship of idols to the faith of Christ, and having ended the days of his office in peace, died on the seventh day before the Kalends of June (26th May), in the time of the reign of the same king."—l. ii, c. iii. Now, what further testimony than this can be required of the holiness and purity of the faith which Augustine preached? Miracles were the evidences and proofs of the Christianity of the first age: they cannot be repudiated in after times. If at first they fairly convinced men that what was said was from God, they proved as much afterwards. The opposition of the Britons had no heavenly sign. They appealed to heaven, and heaven answered not. Augustine's prayer was heard; and after that prayer the blind saw. If after this the Britons *saw not*, the fault was their own. Even Christ's miracles produced no change in the bulk of the Jews who witnessed them. Was Christ's evidence defective? To reject Augustine and the authority by virtue of which he acted, and cling to those who were forced to acknowledge the divine interposition and the truthfulness of his teaching, even whilst they refused compliance with his wishes, is evidently a suicidal act—an act of despera-

The posi-
tions of Au-
gustine ap-
proved by
heaven,

as Christi-
anity was, at
first.

¹ See St. Gregory's letter to St. Augustine, l. ix, Epist. lviii, so often referred to, as also his letter to Eulogius, Archbishop of Alexandria, l. vii, Epist. xxx.; and Bede, l. i, c.

tion, dependent not on an examination of evidence, but on an unwillingness to adopt right conclusions. Nor will it do to deny these miracles. This will only add falsehood to crime. Suffice it to say that we have *better evidence of the miracles of Augustine than of the convocation of that very Synod at which Dinooth and his associates met.* ^{This approval beyond denial.}

3°, It is not through the *British* Church that the Anglican establishment traces its descent: it is from the Church established by Augustine that it derives, or pretends to derive, its orders and its mission.² Now, the Church established by Augustine in his person and in the persons of his successors, was from the first as well as afterwards dependent on Rome. This we have already in part shown; and the sequel of our history will be found to be one continuous proof of this same dependence. Of what advantage, then, is it to say, "there were prelates in Britain even during the Saxon period, and these prelates were independent of Rome," since it cannot be added, "and from these prelates, thus independent, our present Church derives its orders and its mission. There was always an independent British Church down to the sixteenth century: it never submitted to the authority of the Pontiff even during the palmiest days of the Popedom; and now it is extended over the whole of England, under the imposing title of 'the Church established by law,' not assuredly divine, but parliamentary." Evidently nothing is gained by advocating the independence of the British Church. ^{Nothing gained if British independence could be proved.} A fact is referred to; but with this fact there is nothing to connect England. It is an isolated fact, and nothing more. It has neither antecedent nor consequent to recommend it:

² This we have already shown. See, too, the Catalogues of Bishops.

neither premiss nor conclusion, of which the present Church can avail itself. At all events, as the Author of the recent work, "Welsh Sketches," observes, *In the ninth century* (not before) the Welsh Church was in full communion with the Church of Rome."¹ The "independent" Church had passed away: its history was comprised in a word: *FUIT*.

Neither the
language of
the Britons
Protestant,

4°. Since the doctrine of the Establishment relative to headship is this, that the Sovereign is head of the Church, the British representatives, to speak Protestant language, should have declared either that Ethelbert, or some other reigning sovereign, was their superior in matters spiritual. But it is not even pretended that any such language was adopted; at the most a prelate of Caerleon was their head: a bishop, and not a king. Had they called Ethelbert their head, assuredly the monarch would have been as much surprised at the title as the Apostle of the Saxons.

nor their
doctrines.

5°. The independence of the present Anglican Establishment being inferred from the alleged independence of the British Church, it should be further shown that the Church of Britain was the same in doctrine as the Church of England. What if the Nestorians or Eutychians, what if the Arians and Donatists broke off from the rest of Christendom and established separate and independent Churches, will the mere fact of separation suffice to prove them, in the eyes of Anglicans, orthodox? Are isolation and orthodoxy convertible terms? Now, as far as we can learn the history of the British Church from authentic documents, are we justified in stating that the British is identical with the Anglican Establishment? Assuredly not. Even the character of the individuals, who are held up as

¹ Page 106.

the representatives of British orthodoxy, overthrows the idea of Protestantism. For who was this Dinooth so much spoken of and preconized in these times, and who were his companions? Dinooth was the abbot of a monastery, and his companions were cowed monks. Surely the generality of Protestants will hardly recognize in these, their forefathers in the faith, *the* orthodox Churchmen of the seventh century. And what were the doctrines which they held? We have already answered this question on the authority of Gildas. These very men were mass-priests,—the mass was “*the tremendous sacrifice*” in the sixth and seventh centuries, though the members of the Establishment in the nineteenth century declare on oath that it is “*a blasphemous fable.*” Neither in faith nor in headship then does the British agree with the Anglican system; it is then more than useless, it is positively foolish to justify the isolation or newness of the Anglican Church by the supposed independence and antiquity of the British Church of the year 604.

They offered up the Mass.

6°. Lastly, the writers of “the homilies” had no faith in this *lost Church just found*, or they would never have penned that sweeping condemnation of a world prior to the Reformation, which was published for the *edification* of after times in the work named. They tell us that all the world was plunged in damnable idolatry for eight hundred years and more, before the Reformation brought in the Gospel light. The Reformation began here on the 30th day of March, 1534. The independent Church—the Protestant Church of the Britain—then must have been sadly unfaithful. Hardly in existence, and it abandons the worship of the true God for the worship of false gods! Is it wise to ally oneself to such an institution, and

The English Church formerly ignorant of British orthodoxy.

through an idolatrous system of more than eight hundred years duration to claim an Apostolical Church?

Bishops consecrated by Augustine.

But let us pass from the figment of an independent British Church to the consideration of that religion, which by virtue of a command from Pope Gregory, we left Augustine and his associates spreading throughout England. Not long before his death, Augustine¹ consecrated Lawrence, whom he appointed to be his successor, and Mellitus and Justus. To Mellitus the see of London was given, whilst to Justus was assigned the government of the newly appointed See of Rochester. The reader will not fail to remember what had been arranged by the Pontiff relative to the metropolitanical sees on the death of Augustine. These arrangements had been prudently made, but circumstances rendered it impossible to carry them into immediate effect; for Mellitus was compelled, in consequence of the apostasy of the Londoners, to fly into France and abandon the southern metropolis; and no archbishop had as yet been sent to York, for the northern provinces had not received the Christian faith. During this state of disorganization, which had been caused in some degree by the degeneracy of Eadbald, the incestuous son and successor of Ethelbert, and of the three infidel sons and successors of Sibert, king of the East Saxons, neither Lawrence, nor Mellitus who succeeded him in the see of Canterbury, received the pall from Rome. This honour was reserved for the last of the prelates consecrated by Augustine, Justus, who succeeded

¹ Augustine probably died about 605. He was certainly alive as late as that year if we may rely on the famous Rochester Manuscript, which is said by *Churton* to be the oldest legal deed in England. *Reyner*, *Saville*, *Polydore*, *Virgil* and others, who place his death in 611 or 614, are certainly mistaken. For it is plain from a letter of Pope Boniface IV, written in 610, that Augustine was then dead.

Mellitus in 624. Boniface V, having received from King Eadbald—he had now reformed his life—information of the beneficial results of the labours of Justus conferred upon him, as Gregory had on Augustine, the badge of archiepiscopal power and jurisdiction, and at the same time commissioned him to consecrate fresh prelates for the English mission. “We send you by the bearer of these the pall . . . says the Pontiff, and we permit you to ordain bishops where there shall be occasion, through the mercy of our Lord; that so the Gospel of Christ, by the preaching of many, may be spread abroad in all the nations that are not yet converted. You must therefore endeavour, my brother, to preserve with unblemished sincerity of mind that which you have received through the favour of the Apostolic See, as an emblem whereof you have received so principal an ornament, to be borne on your shoulders.”² Thus was the archiepiscopal dignity which had been originally intended for London, perpetuated in the first *English* see, the see of Canterbury. The Roman Pontiff was anxious to see the light of faith spread over the northern portions of England. He had heard of the marriage of the King of Northumbria, Edwin, to a daughter of the late King of Kent, Ethelberga, and of the noble qualities of which the monarch was possessed. Paulinus,³ who accompanied the princess to the northern court, had likely enough sent

Justus receives the pall from Rome.

Letter of Boniface.

² Bede ii, c. viii. Malmesbury says, l. ii, p. 208, that this document of Boniface was brought forward by Archbishop Lanfranc before the Roman Court, in proof of the privileges of Canterbury; and Parker makes it the ground of claiming superiority for that See. A papal letter then was authoritative formerly; why has it since been called *an insulting, aggressive, insidious*, &c. &c. *missive*?

³ Paulinus was consecrated by Justus July 21, 625, Bede, l. ii, c. 9, and was honoured with the pall by Pope Honorius in 634. He was the first northern Archbishop of the Saxons.

full particulars to Rome, and may further have solicited his holiness to write to the monarch and his queen. Be this as it may, the Pontiff did write to each. He earnestly solicits the king to abandon idolatry, exposes its nullity and its punishment, and beseeches him to open his eyes to the light of truth. To the queen he addresses words of compliment on her piety and faith, and begs of her to spare no pains to induce her royal consort to embrace Christianity; but especially he recommends holy prayer as the means of obtaining the desired gift from heaven.

Conversion
of Edwin.

Boniface lived not to see what he so earnestly desired; the happiness of hearing of Edwin's conversion was reserved for his successor, Honorius. Edwin was baptized by Paulinus on the 12th of April, 627, and the kingdom of Northumbria became in a few years nearly Catholic. Honorius was overjoyed at the cheering intelligence. He addressed a letter of congratulation to the recent and zealous convert, and conferred upon the Apostle of the north, Paulinus, the archiepiscopal pall; and further, in accordance with the wishes of Edwin, who seems soon after his conversion to have applied to the father of the faithful for certain privileges for the English Church, entered upon some arrangements which were deemed desirable by the king. I will record in Honorius' own words, this part of the Pontiff's letter:—"We are preparing with a willing mind immediately to grant those things which you hoped would be by us ordained for your priests; which we do on account of the sincerity of your faith, which has often been made known to us in terms of praise by the bearers of these presents. We have sent two palls, to the metropolitans, Honorius and Paulinus, to the intent that when either of them shall be called out

Letter of
Pope Honorius.

of this world to his Creator, the other may, *by this authority of ours*, substitute another bishop in his place; which privilege we are induced to grant as well in regard to your charitable affection, as of the large and extensive provinces which lie between us and you, that we may in all things afford our concurrence to your devotion, according to your desires.”¹ Assuredly the language of Rome even addressed to kings is unmistakeable: Popes, and not temporal sovereigns, are supreme in all things connected with religion. But to draw special attention to these documents is perfectly useless; if read they will be understood.

As is evident, when the Pontiff Honorius wrote to Edwin, Justus the Archbishop of Canterbury was dead, and Honorius had been appointed his successor. To him the Roman Pontiff sent the pall, as we have already seen. This fact is recorded too in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and is referred to the year 627, the same year in which Justus is stated to have died. Honorius was consecrated at Lincoln, whither Paulinus went to confer the archiepiscopal dignity. To him the Pontiff wrote relative to the very matters which he had communicated to Edwin: a few words of this epistle may be as interesting as they are useful for the elucidation of the matter in hand. “And we, most beloved brother, do not hesitate to grant those things which we perceive may be suitable for the privileges of your Churches. Wherefore, pursuant to your request and to that of the kings our sons we do, by these presents, in the name of St. Peter, prince of the Apostles, grant you authority, that when the divine grace shall call either of you to himself, the survivor shall ordain a bishop in the room of him that is deceased. To which

Honorius receives the pall from Rome.

¹ Bede, l. ii, c. xvii.

effect also we have sent a pall to each of you, for celebrating the said ordination ; that by the authority of our precept you may make an ordination acceptable to God, because the long distance of sea and land that lies between us and you has obliged us to grant you this, that no loss may happen to your Church any way, on account of any pretence whatever, but that the devotion of the people committed to you may be more fully extended.”¹ This was written on the 11th of June, 634. Paulinus was doomed at last, after a life of successful exertion and holiness, to weep over the havoc made among his flock, and the death of his pious and zealous son, the King of the Northumbers. Penda and Ceadwalla uniting their armies, marched against Edwin, defeated him with frightful slaughter at Hatfield, and afterwards spread ruin and devastation through the whole of Northumbria. Neither age nor sex was spared ; and nothing, however sacred, escaped the sacrilegious touch of the Mercian idolators, and the revengeful and bitter minded Britons. Edwin was slain ; and his queen, in the company of Paulinus, hastened to her brother’s court in Kent, which they had left together so many years before. Honorius received his consecrator with every expression of kindness, and conferred upon him the bishoprick of Rochester, which was then vacant, owing to the death of Romanus, whom Justus had sent as his legate to Pope Honorius. Romanus, as Bede tells us, never reached his destination, being “drowned in the Italian sea,” l. ii, c. xx. Mellitus was hardly made bishop when he crossed the sea to advise with Rome :² Romanus followed, and the stream of prelates flowed as regularly towards the Eternal City for

Troubles of
Paulinus.

English pre-
lates hasten
to Rome.

¹ Bede, l. ii, c. xviii.

² Ibid. l. ii, c. iv.

nearly one thousand years afterwards, from England, as the waters to the ocean. Paulinus died at Rochester on the 10th day of October, 644, and Ithimar was appointed Bishop of Rochester; but no one, owing to the disorder of the times, was consecrated Archbishop of York in place of the deceased prelate. Honorius died nine years afterwards, on the 30th of September, 653, and was succeeded by the first native prelate who had ever sat in the See of Canterbury, *Frithona*, better known by his Latin name, *Deusdedit*. Ithimar of Rochester consecrated him at Canterbury on the 26th of March, 655. After this archbishop's death the See of Canterbury remained vacant for several years. This was partly owing to the pestilence which then raged in England. By it, as we are informed by Venerable Bede, the southern parts of England were depopulated, and in the north an immense multitude perished. The chroniclers are equally emphatic. Huntingdon says that Ireland as well as England was nearly laid waste by it. Westminster calls it an unparalleled plague; and the following words of the Saxon Chronicle bear evidence to the greatness of the calamity—"This same year there was a great pestilence in the island of Britain."—*Ad. ann.* 664, p. 325. But there was another and greater cause of delay. According to the Roman Pontiff's appointment, the successor of the deceased archbishop was ordered to be consecrated by the surviving archbishop; but no provision had been made for the actual position of the English Church. At this time there was no archbishop, for the vacancy at York had not been filled up, though several years, as we have seen, had elapsed since the death of the saintly Paulinus. To re-establish the archiepiscopal order, which was much required,

Frithona,
the first
native Arch-
bishop of
Canterbury.

No Arch-
bishop in
England.

Kings ask
the Popes to
appoint
Bishops.

for nearly every English See was vacant,¹ it was deemed requisite to send Wighard, whose election had been approved of by the kings Oswi and Egbert, and the whole Church of the English nation, to Rome, in order "to receive the degree of an archbishop," and afterwards "ordain Catholic prelates for the Churches of the English nation throughout Britain;"² or as Venerable Bede elsewhere expresses it, "he was sent to Rome by Egbert and Oswi, with a request *that he might be ordained bishop of the Church of England.*"³

Letter of
Vitalian.

So far from thinking that this was an independent Church, or that the sovereign was the head of it, our kings actually sent Englishmen to Rome, to ask the Pontiff's permission to be made bishops in England. Wighard did not go to the Pontiff empty handed. To testify their respect for the Apostolic See the monarchs wrote to the Pontiff—Vitalian then sat in St. Peter's chair—and sent many presents, among which were numbers of vessels of gold and silver.⁴ Death, however, seized Wighard before his consecration, and to appoint another in his place was no easy task. Vitalian wrote a truly Apostolic letter to the monarchs to thank them for their presents, "to the prince of the Apostles," as also to apprise them of the untimely death of Wighard, and of his inability to find another person qualified, in all respects, to take his place. He promises, however, to select a worthy person,⁵ one calculated to spread the faith and "root out the tares

¹ See Bede, l. iii, c. xxviii, for this very extraordinary and unexplained fact

² Bede, l. iii, c. xxix.

³ Bede, l. iv, c. i.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Churton has vindicated Vitalian against the charges of Italian subtility, &c. urged by numerous writers, not excluding Soames. He shows what no one acquainted with ancient writers can deny, that Vitalian was

throughout the island ;” and he exhorts them “ continually to follow the pious rule of the prince of the Apostles in celebrating Easter, and in all things delivered by the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, whose doctrine daily enlightens the hearts of believers, even as the two heavenly lights, the sun and moon, daily illumine all the earth.”⁶ In return for these presents the Pontiff sent back to the king some relics of the saints, and to the queen of Oswy “ a cross with a gold key to it, made out of the most holy chains of the Apostles, Peter and Paul.” Vitalian was faithful to his promise : he esteemed Oswy, and therefore resolved not to disappoint him in any way. The Pontiff fixed upon the Abbot Adrian⁷ in the first place ; but this very able scholar and spiritualist⁸ besought Vitalian so earnestly not to place upon his shoulders a burthen which he would be found unable to carry, that the Pontiff found himself forced to acquiesce. He did so the less unwillingly, as Adrian promised to find a substitute really worthy of the high appointment. He named a monk called Andrew ; but Andrew was as unwilling to receive Archiepiscopal honours as the Abbot Adrian. Age and infirmities were his grounds of excuse for declining the kind offer of the

His presents
to the queen.

desired, in case of Wighard's death, to appoint some fit person in his place.—See Churton, H. E. pp. 75-6. This one act of honesty induces me to overlook many acts of injustice of which this author is guilty. But see Bede, l. iv, c. i ; and Malmesbury, l. i, p. 20.

⁶ Bede, l. iii, c. xxix.

⁷ It is a singular fact that to people of four distinct nations was offered, on this occasion, the See of Canterbury. Wighard was a Saxon, Theodore a Greek, Adrian an African, and Andrew an Italian by birth.

⁸ William of Malmesbury calls him “ a fountain of letters and a river of arts.”

Theodore
Archbishop.

His learning
and zeal.

Pontiff. Theodore, a Greek monk,¹ as remarkable for learning as for strictness of life, was at length named, and consecrated by Vitalian. His character was as pleasing to Egbert as it had been satisfactory to his holiness; and hardly had the monarch heard of the archbishop's arrival in Paris when he dispatched his reeve, Redfrid, to conduct Theodore as soon as possible into his kingdom. Theodore arrived, accompanied by Bennet Biscop, in the spring of 669; and Adrian, who had been detained in France, soon after followed him. King and people were alike pleased with the new Archbishop. His zeal for the Church of God was quickly manifested; nor was his desire to enlighten the minds of the people, by means of education, less evident. He visited the entire island; ordained bishops; corrected abuses; reformed customs opposed to those of the universal Church, and everywhere taught the right rule of life. Nor was this all: with Adrian he explained "the sacred Scriptures before crowds of disciples," and further taught "the arts of ecclesiastical poetry, astronomy and arithmetic."² And so great was the proficiency of some of their hearers in the ancient languages of Greece and Rome, that they were enabled, it is said, to converse in them with as much ease as in their native tongue.³ They were taught too, Church music according to the

¹ Theodore was not *even a subdeacon* when appointed to Canterbury. He was ordained by Vitalian March 26, 668, and left Rome for Britain on the 27th of the following May, in the company of Adrian, who was to be his counsellor in conjunction with the celebrated Bennet Biscop.—See V. Bede, l. iv, c. i. At the time of his ordination Theodore was sixty-six years of age. He lived to be eighty-eight, dying in 690.

² Bede, l. iv, c. ii.

³ Some of these were living when Bede wrote.

Roman style, and the sacred airs of Rome were chaunted as early as the days of Theodore in every part of England. Never perhaps had England enjoyed happier times than these. Her kings were brave and good men; her people were intent upon practising the truths of religion and reaping the benefit presented to them now, for the first time, of a liberal education; and the appointment of an archbishop, whom all the English Church obeyed,⁴ rendered the nation's happiness complete. The title which was given to Theodore, even by the Pontiff in Council, was as honourable as that which Gregory had bestowed on Augustine: he was called *Archbishop of Britain*.

Titles conferred on him.

Under this primate the supremacy of Rome appeared in a variety of forms. His appointment at the express request of the king, by Vitalian; the synods which he held in obedience to Rome; the title by which he designated himself in the Council of Hertford, "Theodore by the appointment of the Apostolic See, Bishop of the Church of Canterbury;" the transmission of all his ordinances and decrees⁵ to the Apostolic See, for the purpose of obtaining the approval of his holiness, and the lengthened contest in which he was engaged with Wilfrid—not to allude to numerous other matters—all bear out these two conclusions: the primacy of the See of Rome, and the dependence of Britain in all ecclesiastical matters on the Holy See, were fully recognised in the Seventh Century.

Theodore had the misfortune to disagree with the saintly

⁴ Bede, l. iv, c. ii.

⁵ Bede, l. iv, c. xviii, mentions with what joy Pope Agatho and others received the profession of faith of the Synod held at Bishops Hatfield. Agatho had expected Theodore to assist at the Roman Council which had been convened for the purpose of condemning the Monothelites, and in fact had delayed the Council on his account.

His disagreement
with Wilfrid.

Bishop of York, Wilfrid. Intent upon diminishing the extent of the various bishopricks and increasing the number of the English prelates, alone he ordained three bishops at York, whither he had gone to visit Egfrid, and to each of the three newly consecrated prelates he assigned a portion of Wilfrid's diocese. Wilfrid was amazed at the proceeding; and unable to obtain redress in England, appealed from the injustice of the primate of England to the justice of the primate of Christendom: and soon after he was seen wending his way to the Eternal City, where in his youth he had spent so many happy years. This appeal perplexed Theodore. Anxious to justify his uncanonical proceedings, he hastily sent off his messengers to Rome, and these arriving before Wilfrid, spared no pains to poison or preoccupy the mind of the Roman Bishop and his Council. But the Pope was not to be deceived. Convening a Council of Bishops and learned Canonists, he patiently examined one by one the statements of Wilfrid and of the partizans of Theodore, and the result was favourable to Wilfrid. The Pontiff commanded that Wilfrid should be restored to his See; and condemning the uncanonical proceedings of the Archbishop, strictly forbade any one of the intruded prelates to retain possession of his See, under the penalty of excommunication. Soon after this favourable and just decision had been awarded, Wilfrid assisted at a Council held at Rome, at which one hundred and twenty-five prelates were present, and there testified to the faith professed by the Saxon, Britain and Scot. But, though Rome had decided in favour of Wilfrid, he was condemned to years of trouble consequent on Theodore's rash act. His enemies by *evasion*, managed to deprive him of his rights. They pretended that Wilfrid

Wilfrid's
appeal to,
and success
at Rome.

had gained his cause by misrepresentation or bribery, or both, and on this pretext he was not allowed to return to York by King Egfrid. Before he was restored, the Pontiff, it was said, must be informed of the *real* facts of the case. Meanwhile the monarch cast him into prison, first at Brunton in Northumberland, and afterwards at Dunbar, whence he was eventually liberated at the intercession of the monarch's aunt, St. Ebba. But he was then sent into exile, and even in exile was pursued by the evil spirit of Egfrid. Driven from kingdom to kingdom, from Mercia to Wessex, and from Wessex to Sussex, his was a life of pain and trouble. His zeal, however, never abated. During the period of his exile he laboured for the conversion of the South Saxon infidels, and heaven blessed his toil. Theodore repented at last of his injustice, and of the trouble which he had caused Wilfrid. It is a pity that he discovered his error so late; for by his siding with Egbert, doubtless this monarch was encouraged in his criminal course, and thus continued under the censures of the Church. But at length he did see the criminality of his conduct, and seeing it he humbly asked the Bishop to forgive him, and in the most energetic language besought the northern sovereign, "by his duty to God and the obedience he owed the Apostolic See," no longer to deprive Wilfrid of his See of York. Eventually Theodore's wishes were corresponded with. Wilfrid returned to his See, but not for any length of time. Brithwald¹ had succeeded Theodore; and this Brithwald seems to have been more anxious to please Aldfrid the northern king,

The decision evaded.

Further persecutions.

Repentance of Theodore.

Wilfrid restored.

¹ He received the pallium from John VI. "Quem," says the Pontiff, "*auctoritate principis Apostolorum*, Archiepiscopum ibidem confirmavimus." Eddius, c. xlv, lii, &c.—How the Pontiffs cling to the authority of Peter. No royal appointments then! Brithwald was elected July 1, 692.

His struggle
with Brith-
wald.

than Wilfrid the northern prelate. He convened a synod at Onestresfeld, where he urged several things against Wilfrid, which however he failed to substantiate; and at length—for such was the king's wish—pressing him to submit to the canons and ordinances of Theodore—those very canons which the Archbishop had so bitterly regretted in his last moments—betrayed his real object and subserviency. But Wilfrid had contended, and successfully too, with abler men than the late Abbot of Reculver, now Brithwald of Canterbury, and it was not likely that he would, in his old age, abandon or betray his Church. He said that he received every canonical ordinance with pleasure; but the ordinances referred to he utterly and absolutely repudiated, for they were uncanonical, and as such had been condemned by Pope Agatho. He expressed his wonder at the boldness of Brithwald in making such a proposition, since no one could be ignorant either of the decision of Agatho, or of the regulations of Agatho's predecessors relative to the privileges of the See of York. He had been appointed to the government of the See of York, and that See should never be dismembered or robbed with the consent of Wilfrid. This speech perplexed, indeed, but did not quiet the royal party who had gained over the Archbishop. Wilfrid was deprived of his See, and ordered to confine himself within the precincts of his monastery of Ripon, which he was not to quit without the royal permission. Wilfrid appealed a second time to Rome, whither he hastened with as little delay as possible. Brithwald, too, sent his agents; and thus at Rome the battle between Canterbury and the royal party, and the Bishop of York, was once more to be fought. John VI then occupied the papal throne. He entered fully into the

Goes again
to Rome.

whole dispute ; convened a Synod, in which the case was re-examined from its origin ; considered the decisions and the grounds of the decisions of Agatho, Bennet and Sergius, in seventy consistories, and after four months of deliberation the Pontiff and a Council of 125 disinterested and eminent prelates, pronounced sentence in favour of the persecuted and inflexible Wilfrid. This second appeal had one good effect at least ; it prevented any other prelate from arbitrarily and uncanonically ejecting a fellow bishop for more than three centuries and a half. No other such instance of despotism is recorded in our history down to the reign of Edward the Confessor.

His success.

The Pope addressed letters to the king of the Northumbrians, *Alfrid*, and also to *Ethelred*, king of the Mercians, in which he informs them of what had been done in the case of Wilfrid ; ordains that a synod should be held in case of further difficulties ; and if these difficulties cannot be thus composed, that then recourse should be had to Rome ; and if any prelate refuse to be tried by the Apostolic court, such prelate is to be degraded from his order. Wilfrid on his return was welcomed by the Mercian king, from whom he received a promise of compliance with the Papal mandate. But the monarch of Northumbria only really relented when seized by sickness : then he regretted his conduct towards the Roman Pontiff and Wilfrid ; and promised to carry out the Papal mandates to the letter, should he recover from his illness. He died, *promising and repenting*. The Archbishop too, in obedience to the Pope, convened a council, in which he spoke in the highest terms of the Papal authority ; mentioned all that the Pontiff had prescribed ; and exhorted all present at once to restore to Wilfrid his rights, rather than to be

Letter from Agatho in his favour.

He dies.

compelled either to go to Rome, there to be judged, or to be subjected to the threatened degradation. His words, after some opposition, produced the desired effect. Wilfrid's case was amicably arranged; Rome again thus triumphing in the person of the venerable prelate of York. He died, four years afterwards, at Oundle in Northamptonshire, at the age of seventy-six, after an Episcopate of forty-five years duration.¹ During the period just passed over, York was simply a bishopric: one prelate, Paulinus, had there possessed the pall, as we have seen, but it had never been conferred on any other occupant of that see. In a synod held at Rome during the Pontificate of Agatho, it had been decreed, that the number of the English prelates, including the primate of Canterbury, should be limited to twelve; and that Bishops should be consecrated by him only, whom Rome should have honored with the pall. But this decree of Agatho was afterwards altered, owing to changed circumstances, about the year 735, by Gregory III.² By him York was again raised to the archiepiscopal dignity, and Adrian I, not fifty years afterwards, conferred, at the request of Offa, the powerful king of the Mercians, a like honor on the city of Lichfield; notwithstanding the opposition of the Archbishop of Canterbury—Jambert was then archbishop—who complained that this fresh appointment was a limitation of that authority, which out of reverence to St. Gregory, and to St. Augustine, the Apostle of the Angles, the Roman Pontiffs had ever guarded with the greatest jealousy. But this

Alterations
in the hier-
archy of
England.

¹ For the particulars given in the text regarding Wilfrid and his enemies, see *Eddius passim*.

² Saxon Chron. ad ann. 735, and Malmesbury, de Pontif, p. 153.

³ Wilkins's Concilia, vol i, p. 46.

latter appointment was only of short duration; Litchfield, unlike York, was raised to honor for a moment, and after that moment it forfeited it for ever. After Offa's death, Ethelheard, who succeeded Jambert, went to Rome, at the request of king Kenulph, to propose two things to the holy father: 1° The restoration to the Bishop of Canterbury of his former extent of jurisdiction, by suppressing the archiepiscopal see of Litchfield; and 2° The translation of the archiepiscopal power from Canterbury to the more opulent and important city of London. The king himself wrote to the Pope, Leo III: he assured the Pontiff, that he would be governed entirely by his wish and decision, and that he desired to be considered a faithful son of the Bishop of Rome, and of Holy Church.⁴ Kenulph's requests granted by Leo III. The latter request was absolutely refused; for the Pontiff said that he was unwilling to deprive the successors of St. Augustine of that primacy at *Canterbury* which they had so long enjoyed;⁵ but the former favour was willingly granted: and Aldulf of Litchfield no sooner heard of the Pontiff's command, than he submitted, and placed himself under the jurisdiction of Ethelheard. The Pontiff's letter is very decisive. It was addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury. "The holy and famous Pope and Doctor, St. Gregory, (writes the Pontiff), ordained and confirmed to the blessed Archbishop Augustine, his legate, that all Churches of the English, both of bishops, Monasteries of men and women, and of all ecclesiastical persons, should be subject to him, by the sacred use of the pall. And therefore, by the authority of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, to whom our Lord gave power to bind and to loose,

Leo's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

⁴ See the king's letter, in Baronius, ad ann. 796.

⁵ Wilkins, Concil. i, 164—7, and Malmes. Gest. Reg. i, 119—27.

saying, 'Thou art Peter,' &c. as also according to the ordinances of the sacred canons, we, though unworthy, who occupy the place of the same St. Peter, do grant to thee Ethelheard, and to thy successors, by an irrefragable right for ever to hold in subjection all the Churches of the English, as in former times they were granted to thy predecessors. And if any archbishop or bishop shall attempt to infringe the authority of this privilege, we ordain, by Apostolic authority, that he be deposed; the same likewise we ordain touching any priest, deacon, or other cleric. If the like also be done by any lay person, be he great or little, king or prince, let such a one know that for the same he is deprived of the participation of the Holy Communion," &c.¹ Soon after the receipt of this letter, Ethelheard convened a council at Cloveshoe, at which twelve suffragans assisted; and these with their head, unanimously decreed, in virtue of the command of their Apostolic lord, Pope Leo, that "no king, bishop, prince, or other person whatsoever, should hereafter dare to lessen the honor of the metropolitanical see, or divide it in any way; but that that see should continue in that degree of power which had been conferred on it by blessed Gregory and his successors. But should anyone, which heaven forbid, dare, in opposition to the Apostolical and our commands, to rend the garment of Christ, . . . let him know that he will be eternally damned, unless he fully satisfy, before his death, the Church, for the injury inflicted on it contrary to the canons."² Thus by Leo was Canterbury raised to its former dignity, and monarchs

Recognition
at the synod
of Cloveshoe
of the Pope's
supremacy

¹ Malmesbury, de Pontif, l. i, p. 210.

² Spelman's Concilia, ad hunc annum 803; Wilkins, Con. i, 167; and Kemble, Codex diplom. Ævi. Saxon, i, 224.

assented to the Papal ordinances with as much willingness as the prelates themselves. The Pontiffs legislated for them in ecclesiastical matters, as well as for the bishops; warned them as well as others of the consequences of disobedience, and as they did so, they felt assured that they were only discharging a duty: for kings and bishops were subject to their authority. See the letters our prelates addressed to Rome, or those of the English sovereigns, sent to the Popes, and it will be admitted that there is no difference of language: the nation was of one faith, and the head of that faith, here and elsewhere, was the Roman Bishop. It was admitted that he held the place of Peter, to whom the lambs and the sheep had been committed, and who further had received from the Redeemer's hands the keys of the kingdom. Kings, as Offa and Kenulph, in the eighth century, wrote to Rome about the English Church, even as Lucius and Ethelbert did centuries previously; and Ethelheard, the fourteenth prelate from Augustine, at Canterbury, found it as requisite to have recourse to the Holy See in the time of Leo III, as Augustine did in the time of Gregory I. The Catholic mind is unchangeable in regard to Rome. Either to erect or to suppress an archbishopric, equally required the might and authority of Rome: kings, in this respect, were of themselves powerless; and to raise up or pull down, to alter or to restore, often entailed upon the mightiest and noblest, much expense, fatigue and anxiety. It was often requisite to cross the sea, and traverse lands difficult of access, owing to the wants of the times.

admitted by
Offa and
other kings.

As we have already seen, though, according to the pontifical regulation, the suffragans of a deceased Archbishop could choose and consecrate his successor, this successor

could not ordain other prelates until he had received the Archiepiscopal pall. Until this mark of pontifical favour and approbation was received, the prelate was literally restrained from exercising the great and distinctive power of the Archiepiscopate. This pall was at first ordinarily *sent* by Rome to the newly-consecrated prelates of this¹ and other distant countries, in order that they might be freed from the inconveniences and dangers of a long and perilous journey : but at a later period it was deemed better to compel, in the ordinary course of things, all to resort to Rome for the insignia of authority ; for the Pontiffs believed, and rightly, that thus they would be easily enabled to learn, not only the characters of the leading prelates of Christendom, and the real position of the Church in each country, but also to reform abuses where they existed, and communicate with the most remote parts of the world, subject to their spiritual jurisdiction. But against this arrangement the English prelates energetically appealed. They told the Pontiff that it was both troublesome and expensive to travel to Rome ; and that he might do what Boniface and Honorius, his predecessors, had done ; might send the pall to England, and thus save the English metropolitans much anxiety and toil. But Rome was inflexible : and soon, as in 801,² this journey for the pall was looked upon as a thing of course ; and in 1031 Canute, speaking of this custom, styles the journey *the customary one*.³ The journey may have been inconvenient ; but for the reasons above alleged the Popes did right to insist upon it. It

The pall no longer sent from Rome.

Objections to the change overruled.

¹ Bede, l. ii, c. xxiii.

² Wilkins, Concil. i, 166.

³ Ibid, 298, and Malmes. Gest. Reg. i, 310—"pro pallio accipiendo secundum morem."

has had another advantage ; it has rendered the supremacy of Rome, and the dependence of every nation on the Pope, a plain, historic fact. The Archbishops of England—I purposely limit my observation to this country, for I am writing *its* ecclesiastical history, as far, at least, as its dependence on Rome is concerned—are proved to be dependent on Rome by the fact of their travelling to the Eternal City for the pallium, by virtue of which they became possessed of the plenitude of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, not to allude to a hundred other matters connected with this visit and with this act of dependence. These Archbishops, thus dependent on the Holy See, were the heads of the English Church : and them, bishops, priests, monks, nuns, kings, queens, rich and poor, obeyed. These were admitted to be prelates and living members of the Church in consequence of their connexion with, and dependence on, their Archbishops. Thus, through their Archbishops, they were united to the Holy See ; and the history of the Archbishops becomes, consequently, the history of the Church, so far as union with Rome is concerned. But the Archbishops were not of equal dignity. Though York recovered its metropolitanical character, it was not put again on a par with Canterbury. Canterbury was ever supreme,—the Archbishop being not simply metropolitan, but ordinarily, too, the Legate of his Holiness in England. Hence it will be enough in prosecuting our task to show the union of Canterbury and Rome, and the dependence of the former on the latter : this will fully establish the dependence of the whole English Church. But in striving to confine our argument within these narrow limits, we shall not deprive our readers of a variety of proofs all tending to the same end. Canterbury ever appears, like Rome,

Advantages
resultant
from the
change.

Through the
dependence
of the Arch-
bishops on
Rome, Eng-
land's depen-
dence mani-
fested.

Nature of
our argu-
ment.

surrounded by a variety of evidences of its character: we shall see its Archbishop, indeed, in the first place, but he ever appears as a mighty agent, directing and governing this portion of the Church, of which the Pontiff of Rome was the acknowledged Supreme Head. In the first volume of *Anglia Sacra* is inserted a catalogue of those Popes who conferred the pallium on the various Archbishops of Canterbury; but as this document is of uncertain authenticity, I shall not avail myself of it as an authority, especially as there are references enough in our ancient chronicles to the fact of the Archbishop going to and receiving from Rome the badge of the Archiepiscopal dignity.

Tatwine re-
ceives the
pall at
Rome,

The successor of Brithwald, of whom we have already made mention, and who was confirmed by authority of the "Prince of the Apostles" in the dignity of Archbishop of Canterbury, was Tatwine. Of him, Parker thus writes:—"In the year of grace 732, which was the second after the consecration of Tatwine, Archbishop of Canterbury, a controversy arose between that See and the See of York about primacy, upon which occasion Tatwine went to Rome, where he obtained the pall from Pope Gregory, and likewise a confirmation of his primacy. After which he made great haste to return into Britain."¹ Malmesbury presents us a letter of Pope Gregory of this period, in which the Pontiff says "that he had conferred the Archiepiscopal pall on Tatwine, successor to St. Augustine, in his Chair of Canterbury; and that, after a diligent search in the sacred archives for the privileges and rights of jurisdiction belonging to that See from the time of the said Augustine, he had confirmed the same, commanding all the Churches

¹ Parker ad ann. 732, *Antiq. Brit.*

of Britain, with their respective Bishops, to yield due obedience to all the canonical precepts of the said Tatwine, whom he appointed primate, and to whom he gave the power to visit in his stead all the Churches of that region.”²

A like honour was conferred on Egbert of York in 731, as is distinctly recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. “This year Bishop Egbert received the pall at Rome.”³

Nothelm was Tatwine’s successor. He was consecrated Bishop by Gregory III, in 736;⁴ and at the same time was honoured with the pall. When, or from whom, Cuthbert, who was translated from Hereford to Canterbury, received the pall, I cannot at present discover.⁵ Of his union, however, with Rome, we have evidence enough from the connexion existing between him and St. Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, who was one of the most zealous partisans of the Pope, as appears from the first canon of a Council held by him in Germany; from his reiterated visits to the Holy See; from his numerous Epistles; as well as from the tenour of his life. To Cuthbert, Boniface forwarded the decrees which had been passed in his Council; and Boniface received in turn the decrees passed at the Synod of Cloveshoe, held expressly to reform the disorders of the times. This Cuthbert, by his conduct in a matter of seemingly trifling importance, has left us abundant evidence of the power which Rome possessed in England. He was anxious to be buried, not like his predecessors,

as also Egbert.

Cuthbert, in connexion with St. Boniface.

² Malmes. de Pontif. l. i, p. 210.

³ Ibid, ad ann. 735.

⁴ Anglo-Sax. Chron. ad ann. 736.

⁵ Likely enough this may be found in Richardson’s valuable edition of Godwin de præ. Angl. I have not, unfortunately, access to this work at present.

Applies to
Rome, about
his place of
sepulture.

among the monks of Canterbury, but in Christ's Church ; and for this end he applied for permission to the Holy See in person, as we are informed by Gervase and others.⁵

Jambert
appeals to
Rome : is
made Arch-
bishop.

The monks, proud of the honor of having their monastery the place of sepulture of the highest prelates in England, were indignant when they discovered that Cuthbert had been buried in his Cathedral, even before they had been apprised of his death ; and they resolved that such an occurrence should not happen a second time. But in this they were doomed to disappointment ; for Bregwin, who was Primate of England for only three years, was privately buried next to Cuthbert in 762. Jambert, then Abbot of St. Augustine's, was enraged when he discovered what had been done. He appealed to Rome for satisfaction ; and Rome, to quiet the incensed abbot, appointed him to the See of Canterbury, at the recommendation of the clergy of Christ's Church, who were anxious to put a stop to the disgraceful controversy. Jambert—he is as often called Lambert—received, as Worcester tells us, and his testimony is confirmed by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the pall from the Pontiff Paul I. We have already seen what was the extent of the power of Rome during the life of Jambert, and how this power was acknowledged both by King and Bishop. For as the reader will remember, it was during this prelate's possession of the See of Canterbury that Offa solicited the Pope to limit the province of Canterbury, and establish another Archiepiscopal See in the kingdom of Mercia. The Pope yielded ; though no efforts were spared by the Southern metropolitan to induce him to preserve the privileges of the See of Canterbury in-

¹ See Gervasius Dorob. inter 10 Scriptores. Act. Pontif. Cant. p. 1641 ; et Anglia. Sacra, part ii, p. 72.

tact. The King, by applying to Rome, whither he sent several persons of distinction and talent, and the Archbishop, by remonstrating with and obeying Rome, equally establish the primacy of the Holy See. Jambert gave up part of his province at the Council of Calcuith, in the year 785.² To this Council Adrian sent two Legates, Gregory, Bishop of Ostia, and Theophylact, Bishop of Todi;³ and to do them honor, Offa himself assisted at the deliberations of the assembled Prelates, as did also a great number of the most distinguished clergymen and laymen of the kingdom. As the Legates observe in their letter to his Holiness, they were "the first extraordinary Legates who had ever entered England since the conversion of the Saxons."⁴ Several canons of discipline were enacted; and all present declared their willingness to abide by the directions of Rome. I will lay before the reader an observation of the eleventh canon, for it is much to the point. It declares that, "as the King is lord paramount in the *State*, so the *Bishop's authority is supreme in matters relating to the government and discipline of the Church.*" Offa, Jambert and his suffragans, as also several abbots, and numbers of distinguished laymen, subscribed the canons at Calcuith, as the king, bishops, clergy and laity had previously done in the Northumbrian synods, whither one of the Papal legates went, prior to his appearance at the synod of Calcuith.⁵ Ethelheard succeeded Jambert in 790.⁶ Of his journey to Rome and its object; of the

Papal legates at the Council of Calcuith.

The eleventh Canon's distinction between the spiritual and secular power.

² Spelman Concil. vol. i, 293.

³ Anglo-Sax. Chron. ad ann. 785.

⁴ Matt. Paris. Vita. Offæ, p. 25.

⁵ Spelman, Concil. vol i, p. 300.

⁶ Saxon Chron. ad ann. 790.

character of the letters which Kenulph sent to his Holiness at the same time; of the result of the royal and archiepiscopal request, and also of the Pontifical letters, and the synod held in consequence at Cloveshoe, I have already treated. Rome suppressed the new archbishopric of Litchfield, and restored to Canterbury its former privileges and prerogatives. I refer the reader to what has been said on this head at page 193. Though one of the ends of Ethelheard in going to Rome was to obtain from the Holy See, the restitution to Canterbury of its former extent of jurisdiction, this was not his primary object: he went expressly for the pall, as is evident from a letter already referred to, written or signed by the bishops and distinguished clergy of England, in which they complain bitterly of the necessity of each archbishop having to go to Rome for his pall, instead of the Pontiff forwarding it to each, as had been the case formerly.¹ The result of this letter has been already stated. I will add to the varied evidence of the supremacy of Rome, presented to us at this period, the following words taken from the *Saxon Chronicle*: "Athelard, Archbishop of Canterbury, appointed a synod, and confirmed and ratified, by the command of Pope Leo, all the things respecting God's ministers, which were appointed in Withgar's days, and in other kings' days, and thus sayeth,² 'I, Athelard, the humble Archbishop of Canterbury, by the unanimous advice of the whole synod....command, *as I have command of Pope Leo*, that henceforth none dare to choose for themselves lords over God's heritage from amongst laymen. But even as it stands in the rescript which the

Ethelheard
goes to Rome
for his pall.

Holds a syn-
od which
the Pope
approves of.

¹ Ang. Sac. par. i, p. 462.

² Anglo-Saxon Chron. ad ann. 796, p. 343 Giles's Edn.

Pope has given, or those holy men have appointed, who are our fathers and instructors concerning holy ministers, thus let them continue inviolate, without any kind of gain-saying. If there be any man who will not observe this ordinance of God, and of our Pope, and ours, and who despiseth and holdeth it for nought, let him know that he shall give account before the judgment seat of God. And I, Athelard, archbishop with twelve bishops, and three-and-twenty abbots, do confirm and ratify this same, with Christ's rood-token.' ” Athelard died in 803, and Wulfred his successor received the pall in the following year.³ As we are informed by Westminster, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicler, the archbishop went to Rome, accompanied by Wibert, bishop of Sherborne, in order to arrange some affairs connected with the English Church. What those matters were, we know not; but if one of the councils of Calcuith be fairly represented in Spelman, we may conclude that Wulfred repaired to the Pontiff to complain of the conduct of the king Kenulph, as also to remonstrate with His Holiness against the concessions made to the king by Rome. But this is all conjecture. Of the Catholicity of these times, the Council of Calcuith, held in 816, at which Canterbury presided, assisted by his suffragans and several other prelates, affords abundant proof. Kenulph and his nobles too were present, and numerous abbots, priests, and deacons. 1° Mention is made of holy water, and of sprinkling with it. 2° The Eucharist is called the body and the blood of the Lord. 3° Relics are to be kept in the Church. 4° Articles are framed relative to the qualifications and election of abbots and abbesses. 5° It is ordained that on the death of a bishop,

Sentence
against those
who refuse
to obey the
Pope.

Catholicity
stamped on
all the en-
actments at
Calcuith.

³ Anglo-Saxon Chron. ad ann. 803-804.

one tenth of his property be given in charity for the repose of his soul; and that every bishop and abbot provide that six hundred psalms be said, and one hundred and twenty Masses be offered up for the deceased.¹ Such were the ordinances of the prelates of the ninth century; and such were the services of the English Church, when Kenulph and his nobles assisted at the Council of Calcuith. Theologild, Wulfred's immediate successor, only enjoyed his honours for three months. On his death, Ceolnoth was appointed to his place, which he retained for the long period of thirty-eight, or—as Cressy thinks—of forty-one years. In 831, he, like so many of his predecessors, was seen toiling across the Alps on his way to Rome. He arrived the same year, and from the hands of Gregory IV, received the archiepiscopal pall. As the *Saxon Chronicle* and Worcester distinctly state, the honor was conferred in 831. The ordinary way of recording the reception of the pall is deserving of notice: it was not considered necessary to state where or from whom it was received. The common notice of the event is this: "This year archbishop N. N. received the pall"; as may be seen in nearly any one of our chronicles, but especially in that commonly called the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. No Englishmen doubted or could entertain the idea of a denial of the Papal supremacy; all jurisdiction was known to be derived from Rome; and the very mention of the pall brought necessarily to mind, in former ages, the Roman Pontiff. As a modern writer has well observed, "the union of European Christendom under the Pope was the arrangement which had lasted, under God's providence, ever since the barbarians had been Christianized; it was the dispensation

Ceolnoth
goes to
Rome.

Ancient
mode of
referring to
the recep-
tion of the
pall.

¹ Spelman de Concil. fol. 317; see too Cressy, p. 693, book xxvi, c. xi.

which was natural and familiar to men—the only one they could imagine—a dispensation, moreover, under which religion had achieved its conquests. The notion of being independent of the See of Peter was one which was never found among the thoughts of a religious man, even as a possibility; which never occurred even to an irreligious one, except as involving disobedience and rebellion. We would have people reflect, who shrink from looking with favour on any person or any policy which strengthens the See of Rome, that there was a time, when the authority of the Popes was no controverted dogma—when it was as much a matter of course, even to those who opposed its exercise, as much an understood and received point as the primacy of Canterbury and the king's supremacy is with us.”² But for its vulgarity, the following extract from the Centuriators might be mistaken for the above citation. In their annals of the ninth century, they thus write: “Kings and princes, like so many parrots, made use of the prescribed words, that the Pope was the head of God's Church, and of all the priests throughout the world —‘quod Pontifex sit caput ecclesiarum Dei, et omnium sacerdotum in toto mundo.’”³ Evidence must be plain indeed, in the ninth century, of the Papal supremacy, if even Lutheran Centuriators see, and feel, and admit its force! Ceolnoth's times were times of sad trouble and disorder; for whilst he was archbishop, the country was laid waste by the Danes: Churches and Monasteries were fired; libraries of valuable books were destroyed; and the country was red with the blood of the murdered, and of those slain in the battle-field. Alfred, in his preface to

Rome formerly allowed to be paramount.

This admitted by even the Centuriators.

² See Brit. Critic, January 1843, No. 65, p. 35.

³ Cent. ix, f. 335.

Troubles in
England.

the "Pastoral of St. Gregory," draws a sad, though true picture of this period, which I will copy, in order that the reader may see what was the state of learning prior to the incursion of the Danes, in England. It is a very common thing with modern declaimers against the "Dark ages" to cite the last words of the passage I am about to lay before the reader; but they are particularly careful to suppress the few preceding lines, and not to allude to the cause of ignorance *here* in the ninth century—namely, the incursion of barbarians, who spared neither men nor works of learning. Alfred then tells Bishop Wulfsig, "that both the clergy and laity of England were formerly trained in letters, and made great improvement in the creditable sciences; that by the advantage of such a learned education, the precepts of religion and loyalty were well observed, the Church and state flourished, and the government was famous for its conduct in foreign countries. And as to the clergy, they were particularly eminent for their instructions, for acting up to the expectations of their character, and discharging all the parts of their duty to commendation; insomuch that strangers used to come hither for learning, discipline and improvement. But now the case is miserably altered, and we have need of travelling to learn what we used to teach. Indeed, knowledge is so entirely banished from the English, that there are very few, on this side of the Humber, that can either translate a piece of Latin, or so much as understand the Liturgy in their mother-tongue."¹ Such being the case, we cannot expect many particulars regarding this period; and we shall readily understand the meaning of the following brief sentence of William of Malmesbury, regarding the prelates

Sad results
as noticed by
Alfred.

Comparative
want of re-
cords.

¹ See Alfred's letter to Wulfsig, pref. to St. Gregory's Pastoral.

of this and a later period. "These doubtless performed many things to the honor of God and the benefit of the kingdom, but antiquity has swallowed and abolished all." Still there is enough to show what was the belief of Canterbury relative to the Pope, and this we have shown; as also, what our sovereigns thought of Rome; and to this latter point I will in a few words direct the reader's attention. Ethelwulf, out of devotion to the Holy See, went to Rome, where he was received with every mark of honor, in 854, by Leo IV. Leo had already heard much of the monarch through the attendants on Alfred, whom the king had sent in the previous year to Rome. The youth had been sent to the Holy City in order to learn well the principles of virtue and of faith,² and whilst there, the Pontiff conferred on him the sacrament of Confirmation;³ at which time too he adopted him as his son, and anointed him with the royal unction; but for what end, or at whose request, historians have as yet to discover. Volumes of conjectures have been written on this head; but since mine is the province of history, I shall not be expected by the reader to travel into the region of conjecture and romance. Ethelwulf, whilst in Rome, behaved with the greatest liberality to the Holy Father,⁴ and in his will he did not forget him. In this instrument he charges his heirs with the obligation of sending yearly to Rome

Still sufficiently conclusive.

Alfred at Rome; confirmed and anointed by Leo IV.

² See Westminster, *ad hunc ann.* 853.

³ Asser. f. 2.

⁴ Malmes. de reg. l. ii, c. ii; Hoveden, f. 41. Anast. Biblioth. apud Baron. ad ann. 856, who was at this very time at Rome, mentions, among the rich offerings made to St. Peter by Ethelwulf, a crown of gold weighing four pounds, some cups and images of gold, silk vestments embroidered with gold, &c., &c. Leo IV died whilst the king was at Rome: the gifts were presented to Leo's successor, Boniface.

three hundred mancuses. Alfred carefully carried out the wishes of his father; and in his or about his time, the legislature imposed a tax on the whole of the nation in favour of the Holy See, called *Rome-feoh*, afterwards better known under the name of *Peter-pence*. Ceolnoth died in 870,¹ and was succeeded by Athelred, of whom the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* thus says: "There was warfare and sorrow all his time over England."—*Ad hunc ann.* Though Polydore Virgil, Harpsfield, Parker, and Godwin are loud in the praise of this archbishop, history, as Malmesbury observes, has nearly buried in oblivion his actions and the actions of his predecessors. Why modern writers have been so loud in his praise, or whence they derived their information regarding him, I cannot pretend to say. From the few lines, however, which occur in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, it is fair to infer, that he was a good and prudent prelate, and that all his thoughts were directed towards the reformation of those abuses which the Danish invasion had caused. In the acts of the councils of the Church, we find a letter directed to him by Pope John VIII, in which his faith, hope, and charity, and *devotion to the Holy See*, are highly extolled.²

Plegmund,³ the preceptor of Prince Alfred, and one of the most distinguished scholars of his age,⁴ succeeded to the See of Canterbury in 889, or if the Saxon Chronicle be accurate in 890. In this chronicle one incident is deemed worthy of notice in the first named year; it is

¹ Anglo-Sax. Chron. ad ann. 870.

² Tom. iii, Concil.

³ Gervas. in Pontif. Cant. Alfred refers to him in the preface already cited.

⁴ Anglia Sac. pars i. Randolph de Diceto de Arch. Cant; Anglia Sac. pars ii, p. 681. Asser. de rebus gestis Alf. Antiq. Brit. p. 74.

Ethelwulf's
bequests to
Rome.

Peter-pence.

Athelred
praised by
John VIII.

this :—" In this year there was no journey to Rome, except that King Alfred sent two couriers with letters." In 890 the West Saxons, as also Alfred, sent their alms to Rome by the Abbot Bernhelm.⁵ When Plegmund set off for Rome, *by whom* he was consecrated, and *from whom* he received the pall, are matters of uncertain solution. Godwin and others say that he received the pall from Formosus, whilst Cressy and Alford are sure that Stephen V, who was the immediate predecessor of Formosus, and who died in September 891, conferred on the new archbishop the archiepiscopal insignia. Two things only are certain; Plegmund went to Rome, and at Rome received the pall. The kingdom was in a sad state in 892, owing to the causes already named. What was said of the moral condition of the British Clergy after the revolt of the Saxons against their employers, seems to be nearly applicable to the Saxon Clergy, after the descent of the Danes. Their crimes seem to have been enormous; and neither the laws of the State, Church, or God, seem to have been able to restrain them even in a slight degree; and had it not been for the zeal and earnestness of Plegmund the whole nation would have been excommunicated by the Roman Pontiff, as appears from a letter of Formosus preserved in the writings of William of Malmesbury.⁶ The Pontiff however adds, that "instead of cursing he blesses; he exhorts the clergy to be virtuous and zealous; the archbishop to fill up the vacant bishopricks as soon as possible; and in conclusion states that it is obvious that the Archbishop of

Plegmund receives the pall.

During his time, the Pope threatens to excommunicate the nation.

⁵ Sax. Chron. ad ann. 890.

⁶ Malmes. de Pontif. l. i, fol. 211. Of the authenticity of this letter there can be no doubt, notwithstanding some slight chronological difficulty in which it is involved, owing to Malmesbury's postdating it a few years. Formosus died in 896, having mounted the Pontifical throne in 891.

To him, the Pope confirms the privileges of Canterbury.

Canterbury had long been the head of the Church in England, and that to him had been subjected all the bishops throughout the island. What other Popes had granted, he confirms in the person of Plegmund and Plegmund's successors; he subjects all the bishops to his and their authority, and denounces a heavy sentence of excommunication against any person who shall dare to infringe the privileges or lessen the jurisdiction of Canterbury."¹ This letter shows clearly enough the nature of the relations which existed between England and Rome at the close of the ninth century. Never would the Pontiff have held out the threat of excommunication, nor an English archbishop have endeavoured to ward off the Papal blow, had not the former been confident of his power, and the latter been persuaded of the inherent right of Rome to punish the Church of a whole nation. Nor was Formosus the only Pontiff who during the Primacy of Plegmund held the threat of excommunication over England. About the year 905 the Pontiff—Sergius III was then St. Peter's successor—had heard again of the vacancies in the English Sees, and thinking that King Edward was to blame, he threatened the monarch and his subjects with his anathemas, unless the Sees were filled up as soon as possible.² In consequence Edward caused, in conjunction with the archbishop, a numerous assembly of bishops, abbots and noblemen to be convened³ in the province of the South Saxons, in which the wants of the Church were carefully considered, and resolutions passed calculated to redress the evils complained of by the Pontiff.⁴ The resolutions were submitted to the Pope by Plegmund, who

Pope Sergius' threat against King Edward.

Its result.

¹ Malmes. l. ii, c. 5.

² Ibid.

³ Westm. ad ann. 905.

⁴ Malmes. de reg. l. ii, c. 5.

had hastened to Rome to appease the Holy Father, and by him they were highly approved. Among other things which had been determined on, an increase of bishops held an important place. Accordingly Plegmund, on his return, consecrated several prelates to those places which, by the King and Council, had been fixed on as most needing the superintendence of a bishop. Who the new prelates were, which were their Sees, and what the extent of their jurisdiction, may be seen in Malmesbury.⁵

Plegmund; venerable for his age, learning and virtues, at length died; but when we cannot precisely state; for whilst the Saxon Chronicle assigns this event to the year 923, others, as Cressy, Alford, Godwin, &c., say that he died in 915. This is at least certain, that Athelm, the first Bishop of Wells, was his successor, and that by him Athelstan was crowned at Kingston-on-Thames.

Scarcely had Athelstan been crowned, when his title to the throne was denied by a nobleman of the name of Ethelfred. It was stated that his mother was not the wife of Edward at the time of his birth; and consequently that Edwin, a younger but legitimate child of Edward, was the rightful heir to the English crown. To place him on the throne and to hurl down Athelstan was the avowed object of Ethelfred and his fellow-malcontents. But their object not succeeding, for the people could not be stirred up to revolt, they resolved on another expedient. They determined on seizing the prince, tearing out his eyes,

Recourse to Rome.

Plegmund dies.

Conspiracy against Athelstan.

⁵ L. c. and l. ii de Pontif. I have adhered to Malmesbury's facts. In chronology and the order of the succession of the Roman Pontiffs this author is often faulty. The disputes which have hence arisen may be seen in Collier i, 404. I think that, as a reasoner, Collier is very weak.

Ethelfred
sent to Rome
to attest his
innocence.

and thus unfitting him for the kingly office. Here again they met with disappointment. Their plot was discovered, but not so clearly as to render the proofs unquestionable. Hence, the king sent the principal conspirator, Ethelfred, to Rome, there to clear himself, by oath, before the Altar of St. Peter, of the crime imputed to him, but which he absolutely denied. He went to Rome, and at the altar took the solemn oath. His guilt was said to have been clearly manifested by heaven; for hardly had the solemn appeal to God passed his lips, than Ethelfred fell down nearly lifeless before the altar of his oath. William of Malmesbury, who states that he derives all his information on this head from a very ancient writer who was Athelstan's biographer, thus cites a portion of the royal charter conveying over the property of the perjured Ethelfred to the monastery of Malmesbury. I extract only the portion of the charter which regards the extraordinary circumstances hitherto briefly referred to:—"Let all the sages of this nation know, that the aforementioned lands did not come into my possession by injustice, neither have I made an offering to God of rapine, but I received them legally as all the nobility of my kingdom have judged. Moreover the Apostolic Pope of the Roman Church, John, gave the same judgment after the death of Elfred, a man who was an enemy to our felicity and life, and conspired with the wickedness of those who, when my father was dead, had an intention to put out my eyes in the City of Winchester; which indeed they would have done, had not God in his mercy delivered me from their treason. After the discovery thereof, the said Elfred was by me remitted to the Roman Church, there to purge himself by oath in the presence of Pope John, and this accordingly he did at the

Athelstan's
letter rela-
tive to the
conspirator's
death.

altar of St. Peter. But as soon as he had taken his oath he fell down before the altar, and was carried thence by his servants to the school of the English, where on the third night afterwards he ended his life.”¹ Such language and conduct as this has induced the Centuriators of Magdeburgh to utter, in scurrilous language indeed, but still to utter a great truth. Writing about the affairs of the tenth age, they say, “The Roman Bishop’s dominion did in this age cast such a cloud over and so overshadow all the Churches of Europe, that not only ecclesiastical, but nearly all civil rulers too, depended entirely upon him, as if he had been some heavenly power.”²

Wulfhelm succeeded to the See of Canterbury in 924, on the death of Athelm. Of this prelate we know very little. By the Saxon Chronicle we are informed that “he went to Rome in 927,” and afterwards not a word is added relative to him. That he ruled his See for at least ten years all admit. Some, but on insufficient grounds I think, lengthen the period of his episcopate very materially. Of the *popery* of his times, the lachrymose periods of the Centuriators offer abundant evidence. In *Odo*, the See of Canterbury obtained a truly great prelate. Of Danish parentage, whilst yet a youth, Odo was forced to leave his own country, which he exchanged for England, where he sought protection from the virtuous Count of Wiltshire, Ethelm. The Count was pleased with his supplicant’s manner and address. He received him kindly, caused him to be educated, and eventually saw him admitted to the priesthood. After this step, the youthful clergyman accompanied his patron on a pilgrimage to Rome, whither as Flodoard and others observe, crowds of pilgrims from

Wulfhelm
receives the
pall.

Odo’s origin
and charac-
ter.

¹ De reg. Ang. l. ii, c. 6.

² *Sæc. x. in princip.*

England and elsewhere annually repaired. On his return to England he was appointed to the Bishopric of Shireburne, and on Wulfhelm's death was nominated by the king to the Southern Archiepiscopate. This at first he obstinately refused. He urged many grounds for not complying with the royal wish, but this was his principal objection: he was not a monk, and none but monks had ever as yet, he observed, sat in the Chair of Augustine; nor could his compliance be obtained till he had been formally aggregated to the holy family of St. Benedict, at the monastery of Fleury.¹ Many modern writers, as Parker, Collier and their copyists, laugh at the scruples, and deny the statements of Odo. As for the scoff, that may be overlooked; but the charge of ignorance cannot be substantiated. After comparing the positive assertion of Odo with the statements of modern opponents, I am forced to acknowledge that Odo's observation was well founded, and that the denial of this statement betrays lamentable disingenuity or ignorance. For, 1° Odo was a man of learning, and cannot be supposed to have made his statement without having maturely weighed his words. 2° The king, the prelates, and the royal councillors, were all anxious to see Odo raised to the Archiepiscopate. Now, since none of these ever pretended to deny what was said relative to the monastic profession of the former Archbishop of Canterbury, it appears to me that this was a fact too plain for even a doubt in those times. 3° Malmesbury knew nothing to the contrary. Though he had studied the history of the bishops down to his own times, he had not discovered that any of the secular clergy had been elevated to the Archiepiscopate of Canterbury before

Appointed
Archbishop:

Refuses the
office, be-
cause not a
monk.

Odo insulted
by modern
writers.

Folly of their
charges;

¹ Malmes. de Pontif. f. 200.

the days of Odo. In fact his account of the whole transaction obviously shows that he concurred in opinion with Odo.² 4° Eadmer tells us, that when some bishops and others were striving after Anselm's death to place in his See one of the secular clergy, the monks of St. Augustine violently opposed this, *because opposed to the customs of that See*; for, as they observed, no secular cleric, with the exception of Stigand, who was deposed subsequently by the Pope, had ever sat in the See of Canterbury.³ And what do the objectors urge in favour of their contradictions? The names of a few individuals, who like *Laurentius* and others are simply styled Presbyters! This is *the* argument made use of, if it deserve such a name. Have these gentlemen ever heard of such a person as *Beda Presbyter*? Doubtless Bede was no monk! But such evasions of a great fact are too trifling for a serious notice. What these objections do prove is this: the present Church of England has no love for these monks; it has no monks; and *if it could*, it would blot out of the record the very remembrance of such men. The times of Odo were most favourable to the propagation of the monastic order; for then the holy King Edmund, who raised Glastonbury to such glory, and St. Dunstan, the zealous promoter of the illustrious Benedictine order, flourished. The king raised and endowed the material structures, and holy men hallowed them by the pious works of the monastic state. Thus was religion gradually raised up from the prostrate condition in which the Danish invasion had placed it; and the yell of crime and disorder was followed by the sweet song of holy Church, sung by

especially of
that based
on the word
presbyter.

In Odo's
time mona-
chism flour-
ished.

² See Malmes. l. c.

³ Eadmer l. v, novorum.

men and women who had been solemnly consecrated to the Almighty.

Odo laboured hard to reinstate the Church in its former position; and for this end traversed the whole country, correcting abuses and promulgating ordinances calculated to effect his purpose. The Constitutions, which he published in ten chapters, and which may be seen in Spelman, Wilkins, and Alford,¹ are full of holy regulations. I will refer only to the two first chapters; for these more directly establish the relations of the spiritual and temporal power, and show that the archbishops of England knew how to distinguish between the one and the other. In the first chapter Odo threatens all those with excommunication who injure the Church in her temporal possessions; in the second he reminds "*the king*, princes, and all others in power that they ought to obey with great humility their archbishops and all other bishops, because to THEM are given the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and they have the power of binding and loosing. And let them not, he adds, think highly of themselves on account of their secular power, for God gives his grace to the humble whilst he resists the proud." Such is the plain and unequivocal language addressed to kings in the tenth century; language which destroys the very idea of any kind of spiritual supremacy in the sovereigns, and places the prelates in the position of sole rulers and governors of the Church. Nor is this the only instance of the straightforwardness of Odo with princes. When Edwy disgraced himself and dishonoured the witan by his infamous amours with Ethelgiva and her daughter, Odo remonstrated in

Odo's constitutions in reference to the kingly and priestly power.

¹ Ad. ann. 943.

language of Apostolical firmness; and when remonstrances proved of no avail, mounted his horse, and attended by a numerous suit, went to the royal villa, carried off Edwy's shameless mistress by force, and banished her from the kingdom. This was done by virtue of a law which stated, that "*if foul, defiled, notorious adulteresses were found anywhere in the land, they should be driven out of the country.*"² If Malmesbury can be trusted, the monarch himself was excommunicated as a last hope by the archbishop. But the archbishop was ever a faithful subject to his lawful sovereign. When the Mercians, disgusted with the infamies of Edwy, chose his brother Edgar for their king, Odo remained firm. He waited on Edwy, and subscribed his charters to the last. He died about 958, and was known to after ages by the honourable title of the good Archbishop.³ His successor was the unworthy Elsin, or Elfin, who died on the Alps, as he was hastening to Rome for his pall. The following particulars of this event, and its cause, are thus recorded by Osborne, Matthew of Westminster, and William of Malmesbury.

His firmness, and its legality.

Elfin starts for Rome:

After stating that Elfin had, by means of money, obtained his election to the See of Canterbury, they tell us that, "on the first day on which he entered his Church, he could not abstain from giving a public proof of the furies which had long been cherished in his breast; for,

² Thorpe i, 174—316. It is wonderful what virulent language moderns make use of against Odo and Dunstan, in consequence of their worthy conduct. These men seem to forget what, 1° God's own ordinances were relative to the crime alluded to; 2° they forget what the laws of the country were; and 3° they forget moreover the duties of a bishop. Let them read St. Paul's letter to the Corinthians.

³ Ang. Sac. ii, 86. Anglo-Sax. Chron. ad ann. 961. "This year departed Odo, the good archbishop." This date is inaccurate, as is obvious from the very next line, regarding St. Dunstan.

his wicked
conduct,

and its pun-
ishment.

Dunstan
Archbishop.

going to the tomb of St. Odo, he spurned it with his foot, saying, 'Wicked old man! thou hast at last, though late, breathed out thy soul, and made place for thy betters. Now, in despite of thee, I have at length obtained what I have long aimed at—for which I give thee little thanks.' And having thus spoken, lo! on the following night, when this furious man had laid himself down to sleep, he beheld before him the form of blessed Odo, who upbraided him with his opprobrious speeches, and threatened him with a speedy dissolution. But Elfin, thinking that what he had seen was only the phantom of a dream, delayed not to set off to Rome for the pall—for it was the ancient custom of the Archbishops of Canterbury to go in person, and not by deputy, to Rome, to ask for the pall. Now, as soon as he had reached the Alps, the cold caused by the snow and wind was so excessive, that he was forced to kill his horses, and opening their bellies to thrust into them whilst warm those feet with which he had spurned the holy bishop's tomb. But that remedy also proved inefficacious to save, for, the frost increasing, he there closed his ungodly life by a miserable end."¹ Thus writer after writer, Archbishop after Archbishop, bad prelates and good prelates, all confirm the same truth—that not a King, but the Roman Pontiff, was the source of Episcopal jurisdiction.

Dunstan, the eloquent, zealous, and intrepid Abbot of Glastonbury, was the next Archbishop of Canterbury; for Brighthelm, Bishop of Sherborne, though nominated, was never actually possessed of that See. Hardly had Odo died than messengers were sent to Fleury by the King to recal Dunstan from exile. He loved Dunstan,

¹ See Osborn in *Vita St. Dunst. and Westminster*, ad hunc ann. 958.

and was sorry to see England deprived of the services of such a man. It will appear almost useless to state that the Archbishop elect was quickly on his road to Rome—that Rome whose authority he had so ably and so often advocated. When he arrived at the Papal capital, John XII sat in St. Peter's Chair; by whom he was received with distinguished honor, and invested with the Archiepiscopal pall in 960. Perhaps there is not one of all our Archbishops whose name is as familiar to the English public as is that of Dunstan. Great and small events—some reaching the sublime, and others the ridiculous and profane—some worthy of a saint, and others calculated to blacken even a villain's memory—have been strangely enough mixed up with the prelate's history. Mine is not the task of the biographer, for I have only to continue the chain of evidence respecting the dependence of this country on Rome in spiritual or Church matters—otherwise I would plunge at once into this sea of conflicting elements, and endeavour to save what is valuable in his history, and sink, if possible, for ever whatever is base and worthless. His life was mainly spent in reforming the clergy, and in substituting regular for secular ministers. To gain his end, it was requisite to lay his case before the Holy See; for in vain would Dunstan have laboured in his Church, had not the Roman Pontiff approved of his substitutions, and sanctioned them by his pontifical authority. Hence, at an early period of his Archiepiscopal rule, he sent messengers to Rome to obtain permission thence, to expel all canons who violated their promise of chastity, and introduce monks in their stead. The Pontiff assented;² and, the

Goes to
Rome.

His zeal in
reforming
the clergy.

² Eadmer, p. 360.

Seconded by
the Pope.

Difficulty of
the endeavour.

king seconding the wishes of his Archbishop, Dunstan, in conjunction with Oswald and Ethelwold, the Bishops of Worcester and Winchester, and his old friends, began the important work of ejecting a faithless clergy, and supplying their places with men of the monastic profession, whose virtue had been well tried and approved. The task was not easy; indeed, the reformation or ejection of the canons of Winchester involved extreme difficulty. Trusting to the nobility of their descent, and the support of family influence, they for a long time refused either to reform or to quit the posts which they disgraced. But reformation was imperative. The services of the Church were hardly ever performed by those who enjoyed the revenues of the Church; the buildings were allowed to fall into decay, and the people were sadly neglected.¹ The patience of the king and Ethelwold was at last exhausted; and recourse was had to the most positive measures of coercion. Entering the choir during the mass, the Bishop of Winchester, tossing down some cowls, thus exclaimed,² "Put on this habit, or quit; there is no alternative." The astonished Churchmen would have refused, had not the sight of the royal deputy checked them. Three put on the habit; the rest retired, gloomy and discontented. From this period monachism spread over a considerable part of the whole country, and gradually the face of religion assumed a more cheering and holy appearance among that branch of clerics

¹ Annal. Winton, p. 289, and Wolstan in Vita Ethel. p. 614.

² See Vita Ethel. p. 614, Annal. Wint. p. 289, and Sax.-Chron. ad ann. 963. The prayer after the communion was this: "Serve ye the Lord in fear." Immediately after, the Bishop said, "Do you know what you have just said?" They answering "Yes," then "Serve the Lord," he added; "take up discipline," this monastic habit, "or if you will not, quit." See the place referred to in Osborne in *Vita St. Dunstani*.

which had disgraced the Sacerdotal Order, the canons of some of the larger cathedrals.³ What was done at Winchester was highly approved of by the Pontiff. The Pope wrote a letter addressed to Edgar and the Bishops, in which he says that he cannot deny what had been so reasonably asked: "Wherefore, illustrious King, and most dear Son, what your Excellency asks from this Apostolic See, over which we, though unworthy, now preside, through our brother and fellow-bishop, Dunstan, we absolutely grant!" Then is recorded what had been asked, namely, the ejection of the canons, recorded in the text.—See the text either in Parker, *Antiq. Brit.* f. 91, or in Alford, vol. iii, p. 349.

Sanction of
the reforms
by John XII,

Dunstan likewise received from the Pontiff John another favour—the confirmation of the privileges of the See of Canterbury. This document has been preserved in the writings of Eadmer, and, being of great historic interest, I will present a portion of it to the reader. Addressing the Archbishop, the Pontiff says, "Thy primacy, by virtue of which, according to the custom of thy predecessors, it belongs to thee to supply the place of the Apostolic See, we do as fully confirm to thee, as St. Augustine and his successors, Bishops of the same Church, are known to have enjoyed."⁴ St. Dunstan possessed the See of Canterbury down to the year 988. On the feast of the Ascension, as Osborne relates, angels, prior to the celebration of the Holy Mass, apprised him of the time of his death. Knowing that his hour was at

who con-
firms the
privileges of
Canterbury.

³ Of course this degeneracy was only partial. "Quibusdam in locis," is the extent of Osborne's accusation. *Ang. Sac.* ii, 112. See Lingard *Anglo-Sax. Church*, ii, 297.

⁴ Eadmer, l. v, novorum.

Dunstan
sickens and
dies.

His sanctity.

Cause of
Protestant
hatred.

hand, he thrice addressed the people during the divine sacrifice with more than ordinary energy ; told them that his hour was come, and promised ever to be mindful of his people. After dinner he pointed out the place where he wished to be interred in his cathedral. On the next day, Friday, sickness confining him to his chamber, he spent it in deeds of piety—praying, advising, and consoling those who could hardly be reconciled to the loss of their good Archbishop. On the next day, which was his last, Mass was celebrated in his room, at which he communicated ; and the few next hours of his life he gave to those acts of devotion best suited to prepare him to meet his Maker. He died on the nineteenth of May, 988, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-eighth of his Archiepiscopal dignity, and his festival was commanded by the Council of Winchester, held thirty-three years afterwards, to be kept on the nineteenth day of May.¹ By all our ancient authors, his memory is held in the greatest veneration. If they speak of him, they describe him as a noble prelate and illustrious saint. The words of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle are an epitome of their observations : “ This year departed the *holy* Archbishop Dunstan, and passed to the heavenly life.”² By one action he has earned the undying hatred of Protestant writers : *he zealously insisted on the maintenance of ecclesiastical celibacy.*

Dunstan's successor was Ethelgar, whom Ethelwold had appointed the first Abbot of the monastery of Winchester ; but he only survived his elevation about fifteen months ; and then the Bishop of Wilton Syric, or, as he is

¹ Eadmer's account of St. Dunstan is particularly interesting. It may be seen in Alford and Cressy, at the year 988.

² Sax.-Chron. ad ann. 988.

called in the Saxon Chronicle, Sigic, was appointed to the high dignity of Metropolitan of England. The language of the Chronicles is unchanged, for the belief and customs of the times were unaltered. In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle we find the following entry at the year 990 :—" Siric went to Rome for his pall." Ages have passed since that expression was first made use of; if it be still used, the consequence is plain. Our Archbishops neither went to Rome to deny the Papal supremacy, nor did our kings hasten their departure to accuse the Pontiffs of aggression; but they went to venerate the head of the Church, and to acknowledge his supremacy; and our monarchs sent the prelates to Rome for the very same objects; and ordinarily the Archbishops carried with them the royal offerings to the Holy See.

Siric goes
for the pall,

Alfric, or Celfric, formerly a monk of Abingdon, succeeded Sirig. As is evident from the testimonial letters written shortly after his appointment, he was eminent for virtue, learning, and all the other qualifications of a worthy prelate. These are distinctly specified in the letters named, as also in the following recommendations :—" He is one who himself understands, and teaches others, to walk according to the path of Scriptures, the traditions of the orthodox fathers, the constitutions of synodical canons, and the decrees of the See Apostolic."³ Hardly had he been nominated to his See than he began his preparations for his journey to Rome. " This year," says the Chronicle just named, " he went to Rome for obtaining his Archiepiscopal pall, and so great was his devotion that he performed that tedious journey barefoot."⁴ In the Saxon Chronicle it is stated that Alfric carefully studied the

is succeeded
by Alfric,

³ Chron. Aleing.

⁴ Ibid.

goes to Rome
at the sug-
gestion of
the king,

history of the conversion, and of the ecclesiastical organisation of this country, with the design of bringing back everything to its former state, in reference to the appointment of the monastic order to various Churches. He called together the wisest of the land, and from them learned the traditions which they had received—traditions which pleased him much, for they all confirmed his preconceived notions. “The Archbishop then, without any delay, with all (these) men, went anon to the king, and showed him all. . . . Then was the king very glad at these tidings, and said to the Archbishop and to the others, ‘It seemeth advisable to me that thou shouldst go first of all to Rome after thy (pall, and that) thou show to the Pope all this ; and after that, act by his counsel.’ And they all answered, that this was the best counsel. When (the secular priests) heard this, then resolved they that they should take two from among themselves, and send to the Pope ; and they should offer him great gifts and silver, on condition that he should give them the Arch (pall). But when they came to Rome, then would not the Pope do that, because they brought him no letter either from the king or people, and commanded them to go whithersoever they would. (So soon as) the priests had gone thence came Archbishop Alfric to Rome, and the Pope received him with much worship, and commanded him on the morrow to perform Mass at St. Peter’s altar, and the Pope himself put on him his own pall, and greatly honoured him. When this was done, the Archbishop began telling the Pope all about the clerks, how it had happened, and how they were within the minster at his archbishopric. And the Pope related to him again how the priests had come to him, and offered great gifts, in order

that he should give them the pall. And the Pope said, 'Go now to England again, with God's blessing, and St. Peter's and mine; and when thou reachest home, place in thy minster men of that order which St. Gregory commanded Augustine therein to place, by God's command, and St. Peter's and mine.' Then the Archbishop with this returned to England. As soon as he came home, he entered his Archiepiscopal seat, and after that went to the (king), and the king and all his people thanked God for his return, and that he had so succeeded as was pleasing to them all. He then went again to Canterbury, and drove the clerks out of the minster, and there within placed monks, all as the Pope commanded him."—*Ad ann.* 995. The lacunæ in the text, though numerous, are in nowise important, as far as the text is made use of, in testification of the spiritual relations which existed at the close of the tenth century between Rome and England. Archbishops and priests, kings and their nobles, acknowledged and appealed to the Roman Pontiff; they all considered him to be their head, and the only one on earth in whom was the power to regulate the affairs of Christianity, and confer the plenitude of primatial authority. It had not then crossed the mind of any man that the temporal sovereign was invested with spiritual authority, and that on the monarchs of England was conferred the power of ecclesiastical as well as of civil jurisdiction. Then, at least, it was not criminal to go to Rome, nor was it criminal to receive authority from Rome; for kings sent the newly-appointed Archbishops to ask of Rome to confer that power which, as kings, they were unable to confer. If eventually it has become criminal to have recourse to Rome—if in England it has been made a *sine qua non* condition to pro-

and reforms
the Cathed-
ral body,
according to
the Papal
instructions.

The evi-
dence of
dependence
on the Holy
See, con-
tinuous.

motion to swear against the spiritual power of the Pope—*if kings claim, and people admit, a regal spiritual supremacy—assuredly these things are of modern date :* for the annals of former ages all testify to the same one fact—a fact as plain as the existence even of the monarchical or heptarchical authority itself—that clerics and laies of every grade, from the highest to the lowest, all considered the Pope to be their spiritual head, whilst the monarch was their superior in those matters only which were purely of a civil character.¹ Alfric died in 1006, and was buried first at Abingdon, and eventually at Canterbury. He was succeeded by Elphige in the same year.

Elphige goes
to Rome in
1007.

This Elphige was noble by birth, and prior to his elevation to the Archiepiscopal dignity, had distinguished himself by his talents and virtues in the capacity of Abbot of the new monastery at Bath, and afterwards of Bishop of Winchester. By his prudence and justice he succeeded in gaining the respect and love of all deserving men, and hence his election to Canterbury caused a general expression of joy throughout the kingdom. In 1007 he set off for Rome, where he arrived, after having been robbed and beaten on his way thither, before the close of the year. The Pontiff received him in the most friendly manner ; and like several of his predecessors Elphige received from the Pontiff's hands the pall.² He returned quickly to his people ; but it was only to witness scenes of misery and distress, which were to be followed by a violent death.

¹ After the very lucid dissertation by Dr. Lingard on the Ælfric, who wrote the famous treatise on the Holy Sacrament, it is needless to observe more than this, that it is clear that the homilist was not the Archbishop just described. See Lingard, vol. ii, *Anglo-Saxon Church. Note R* of the last edition.

² *Sax. Chron.* in l. c.

The Danes had for some years been a curse to the nation. By their incursions and exactions the country had been drained of its wealth and covered with ruins ; and to free it from their tyranny Ethelred devised and executed a scheme, which added ruin to misery, and shook to pieces the Anglo-Saxon throne which it was intended to strengthen. On the 13th of November, 1002, was commenced a promiscuous slaughter, in every part of the kingdom, of the Danes who had settled here. Among the slain was the sister of Swayne, Gunhelda, and her death stimulated the barbarian energies of the northman. He entered the kingdom with a numerous army, and passed from county to county murdering, pillaging, capturing, firing. No insult, no cruelty, no horrors of devastation or death seemed too great a satisfaction for a sister's death : and if at length a temporary cessation of hostilities was procured, it was purchased at the enormous sum of thirty-six thousand pounds of silver. This price would have been excessive even had the nation been in a state of prosperity ; to a country pillaged, it cut off the last hope of recovery from its depression. In desperation one attempt more was made by Ethelred to drive the tyrant for ever from the English shores ; but treachery and the tempest fought against the English and destroyed the fleet, and then it was that the Danes again descended. For three long years and more the northmen laid waste the country, and decimated the inhabitants. After ravaging the southern and eastern counties, they passed to Canterbury. Their brutality awakened the pity and zeal of Elphige. He could not witness the ruin of his venerable See, or hear the shrieks of the dying without making one desperate and determined effort to save the sufferers ; hence rushing

England oppressed by Danish exactions.

Zeal of Elphige for his country,

is seized,

and put to
death.Anglo-Saxon
lament.

from his friends, who endeavoured to withhold him, he presented himself before the barbarians and besought them to spare his people. But his entreaties were laughed at; he himself was seized and bound, and as the price of his ransom a sum was named sufficient to have ruined, if raised, his diocese for ever. "I have no money," he exclaimed, "to spend on my life; but instead of money I will give you something better—the gold of spiritual wisdom." But this they heeded not. They kept the old man under restraint, with the hope which was never to be realized, that he would eventually relent, and would offer the ransom which at first he had refused to give. Convinced at last of his determination, they murdered him at Greenwich, and the drunken barbarians heaped on his mangled corpse the relics of their feast.¹ A church marked out to after ages the spot where the saint had fallen in defence of his people and the possessions of his Church. He died on the Saturday after Easter Sunday, in the year 1012, and was buried in the church of St. Paul's, London, by Aldhem the Bishop of that See, and Ednoth, Bishop of Dorchester. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle has the following mournful record in reference to the seizure of Elphige:—"And when they (the Danes) had thoroughly searched the city, then went they to their ships, and led the archbishop with them.

" Was then captive
He who erewhile was
Head of the English race
And Christendom.
There might then be seen

¹ Osborn in S. Eph. and Gerv. in Act. Pont. Cant.

Misery, where men oft
 Erewhile saw bliss,
 In that hapless city,
 Whence to us came first
 Christendom and bliss,
 'Fore God and 'fore the world."

Anglo-Sax. Chron. ad. ann. 1011.

In what sense Christendom is used is apparent from the second last verse.

In 1023 St. Elphige's remains were conveyed to Canterbury. The king, archbishop, bishops and nobles, and afterwards Emma, with her child Hardicanute, accompanied the body to Canterbury, where it was deposited with much state and many a holy song, "on the north side of Christ's altar, to the glory of God and the honour of the holy archbishop, and the eternal health of all who daily repair to his holy body with a devout heart and with all humility. God Almighty have mercy on all Christian men, through St. Elphige's holy merits."—*Sax. Chron. ad ann. 1023, and Harpsfield Sæc. xi.*

His body
 carried to
 Canterbury.

History has not recorded much relative to the other actions of Elphige as archbishop. To one fact only I will draw the reader's attention. Soon after his return from Rome two Councils were convened, one at Engsham and another at Haba, at which the archbishop presided. In the former it was ordained that the clergy should strictly observe the law of celibacy; that the people should often go to confession, and should receive the Holy Communion at least three times a year; that the monks should keep to their monasteries; that Peter-pence should be paid, and charities for the souls of the dead be offered; and that

The Synodical decrees in Elphige's time strictly Catholic.

the fasts of Lent, &c. should be strictly observed.¹ By the second it was commanded that masses should be offered by priests for protection against the Pagans (the Danes) as long as the calamities of those days endured. I have alluded to these synodical arrangements in order to show what the faith of this country continued to be.

Living, Bishop of Wells, succeeded Elphige in the year 1013. The first years of his Archiepiscopal dignity were troubled by wars, and "the great sea-flood," as it is called, "which rose higher than had ever been remembered, and washed away many towns and a countless number of people;"² but his latter years were years of great consolation and comfort. When Canute had been made the undisputed possessor of the English throne, he exerted himself to practise that faith which he had formerly received in baptism, and to repair the mischief which his own wars and those of his father had brought upon the country. For this end, as William of Malmesbury informs us, "he restored generally through all England the monasteries which had either been damaged or ruined during the recent wars,"³ invited religious persons to return to the houses whence they had been driven,⁴ and erected churches wherever a battle had been fought by himself or Sweyne, to which priests were appointed with the obligation of offering up masses for ever, for the souls of the slain.⁵ But Canterbury was the object of his particular attention; and to it he renewed, at the suggestion of Living, all the privileges which other monarchs had formerly conceded "to the Church of our Saviour seated in

Canute's
piety,

shown especially in his enactments in favour of Canterbury.

¹ Spelman Con. f. 525.

³ De Regib. lii.

² Sax. Chron. ad ann. 1014.

⁴ Ingulph. f. 892.

⁵ Malmes. l. c.

Canterbury." As the charter states, "this being the mother and mistress of all the *Churches* in England shall be free, with all the appurtenances of it."⁶ Canute continued to confer still further favours upon the Church during the entire period of his fortunate reign. No wonder, if the Pontiff Benedict treated Agelnoth with much honour, when he went, on the demise of Living, to receive the Archiepiscopal pall.⁷

Agelnoth
goes to Rome
for the pall,

Agelnoth the son of Count Agelmar, and at the period of his election Dean of Canterbury, was raised to the dignity of Primate in 1020. He was surnamed *the Good*; and all our chroniclers speak loudly of his piety, meekness, humility and learning.⁸ As Huntingdon observes (fol. 364), "as soon as he was elected archbishop he went to Rome for his Archiepiscopal pall; and with him went Lefwin Abbot of Ely, who by command of Pope Benedict was restored to his office, of which he had been unjustly deprived." And thus he too justified the expression made use of by Canute, which I have already cited, relative to the Archiepiscopal custom of going to Rome, "*pro pallio secundum morem*." Benedict the Eighth consecrated Agelnoth archbishop, and gave him the pall. On the same day on which he received it, he used it during the mass, which he sang in the presence of the Pontiff, by whom he was afterwards sumptuously entertained,⁹ and then sent back to England laden with Papal blessings. To train the king was the archbishop's first concern. He knew how the nation would be turned to evil or good by the example of the monarch and his court: hence reforma-

offers up the
Mass in the
presence of
the Pope.

⁶ See Spelman, ad. ann. 1019, for this charter of Canute.

⁷ Sax. Chron. ad ann. 1022.

⁸ See Sax. Chron. and Pit. in Athelmo.

⁹ Sax. Chron. l. c.

tion of the head engaged so much of his attention. His endeavours were blessed. Canute loved and venerated his archbishop ; to follow his advice was to him a pleasure, and what this advice was his actions show : it was to have a love of God and zeal for his Holy Church. To record all that the monarch did for the monasteries and churches of the land ; to state the immense sums which annually were distributed by him and his queen Emma in beautifying and adorning holy spots ; to enumerate the acts which he passed, and the canons of olden times which he enforced for the better regulation of the affairs of the Church, would be a difficult and lengthened task : those who may be curious on this head I refer to the Annals of the English Church, composed by Alford, vol. iii. With one document I will content myself, for it fully establishes the connexion between England and Rome, and the general character which we have given of Canute. This document is his own letter directed to Egilnoth of Canterbury, Alfric of York, the bishops, chiefs, and others of the nation of the English, from Rome, whither he had gone for certain religious purposes which are referred to distinctly in the letter itself. “ I write to inform you that I have lately been at Rome, to pray for the remission of my sins and for the safety of my kingdoms and of the nations that are subject to my sway. It is a long while since I bound myself by vow to make this journey, but I had been prevented from executing it sooner by affairs of state and other impediments. Now, however, I return humble thanks to Almighty God that he has allowed me to visit (the tombs of) the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and every holy place within and without the City of Rome, and to venerate and honour (adorare) them in person.

Canute's life
a great and
lengthened
proof of his
union with
Rome,

whither he
goes in fulfil-
ment of a
vow ;

And this I have done, because I had learned from the wise that the Apostle St. Peter received from the Lord the great power of binding and loosing, and that he was the doorkeeper of the heavenly kingdom.¹ On this account I thought it highly useful to solicit his patronage with God. Be it moreover known to you that there was at the festival of Easter a great assemblage of noble persons with the lord the Pope John, and the emperor Conrad, namely, all the chiefs of the nation from Mount Gargano to this nearest Sea, who all received me honourably, and made me valuable presents, but particularly the emperor, who gave me many gold and silver vases, with rich mantles and garments. I therefore took the opportunity to treat with the emperor, the lord Pope, and the princes, on the grievances of my people, both English and Danes; that they might enjoy more equal law and more secure safeguard in their way to Rome, nor be detained at so many barriers, nor be harassed by unjust exactions. My demands were granted both by the emperor, and by King Rodulf, to whom the greater part of the barriers belong; and it was enacted by all the princes, that my men, whether pilgrims² or merchants, should for the future go to Rome and return in full security, without detention at the barriers or payment of tolls.

“I next complained to the lord Pope, and expressed my great displeasure that such immense sums were extorted from my archbishops when they visited the Holy See, according to custom, to obtain the pall. A decree was passed to put a stop to this grievance. Whatever I demanded for the benefit of my people either of the Pope,

asks for
many favours

which are
granted.

He com-
plains of
grievances.

¹ *Clavigerumque esse regni celestis.*

² *Causâ pietatis viatores.*

Exacts of his
people the
payment of
Peter's
pence.

or the emperor, or the princes, through whose dominions lies the road to Rome, was granted willingly and confirmed by oath, in the presence of four archbishops, twenty bishops, and a multitude of dukes and nobles. Wherefore I return sincere thanks to God that I have successfully performed whatever I had intended, and have fully satisfied all my wishes." Next he states his intention of spending all his days in the service of the Almighty, and at last bids all to discharge the usual payments. Among the rest he mentions "the Peter-pence;"¹ this he would have faithfully paid up and sent to Rome. Canute's vow; his pilgrimage to Rome; his visits to all the holy places; the further admission, of archbishops and pilgrim-merchants and others going to the Holy See; his endeavours to facilitate such journeys, and finally his insisting on the payment of Peter-pence, would alone have secured him the hatred of Parker and such like men, even had he never hung his golden crown on the crucifix, patronized monks, and guarded the celibacy of the clergy. The good archbishop, after he had held his See seventeen years, departed this life, and was succeeded by Eadsine in 1037, who had the honour of crowning the son of Ethelred, Edward the Confessor, in 1043. Beyond this fact and another connected with it, namely, that he read a long lecture to his sovereign on his duties on the day of Edward's coronation, we know very little about this prelate.² As the

¹ *Denarii quos Romam ad Sanctum Petrum mittere debetis.* See this letter in Malmesbury, Baronius and Alford, *ad hunc ann.* 1027. I think that Baronius proves that the letter was written in 1027, and not in 1031. Otto Fris. l. vi, c. 29, fixes the date accurately; but Malmesbury and Ingulph blunder.

² The Anglo Sax. Chron. *ad ann.* 1043, says, "Eadsine consecrated him, and before all the people well instructed him; and for his own need and all the people's well admonished him."

Saxon Chronicle tells us, he went to Rome for his pall in 1040; and shortly after this, incapacitated by illness from discharging the duties of his office, consecrated the Abbot of Abingdon, Siward, to whom he entrusted the care of his diocese.³ He died somewhere about 1050.

Prior to this archbishop's demise, two things occurred which ought to be recorded. First, Edward the Confessor, in consequence of a vow which he had made whilst in exile, prepared to set off for Rome. He communicated his intentions to his nobles, but these, fearful for the quiet and safety of the kingdom during the sovereign's absence, endeavoured by all means to dissuade him from his purpose. But to do so was not an easy matter; hence it was at last suggested to send a messenger to Pope Leo IX, to apprise him of the vow and of the difficulty of fulfilling it, and to ask him what should be done under existing circumstances. The Pontiff took counsel of his advisers, and it was decided that Edward ought not to repair to the tombs of the Apostles, but that instead, he should distribute alms among the poor to the amount of the probable expenses of his journey, and either erect or repair a monastery dedicated to blessed Peter. What was done every one knows; the king raised up the magnificent Abbey of Westminster, which was dedicated to the Prince of the Apostles.⁵ Secondly, in the year 1049 a Council was held at Rhemes, at which the Bishop of Wells, and the Abbots of St. Augustine's at Canterbury and of Ramsey assisted.⁶ The Pope complimented the English nation on its comparative exemption from the crime of simony,

Edward the
Confessor's
vow to go to
Rome.

Commuta-
tion of the
vow by Leo
IX.

³ The Anglo Sax. Chron. p. 417, ad. ann. 1044.

⁴ Ailred de Vita S. Edv. and Spel. Concil. f. 648.

⁵ Wigorn ad ann. 1049.

Honor conferred on the abbot of St. Augustine's monastery.

and ordained, out of reverence to the Church in England, that the Archbishop of Canterbury should hereafter sit in council next to the Bishop of St. Rufina, and the Abbot of St. Augustine's immediately after the Abbot of Monte Cassino.¹

Archbishop Robert,

Robert, a Norman, with whom the Confessor had become acquainted during his exile in Normandy, was the next occupant of the See of Canterbury. He was appointed in Lent, and during the same Lent he started off to Rome for his pall.² But he was not long at Canterbury, owing to the jealousy of the English, and especially of Earl Godwin and Harold. These were indignant at seeing the highest posts conferred on Frenchmen, and they never ceased to display this indignation until Robert the Archbishop, and William of London, and the ignorant Ulf of Dorchester, had left the English shore. Robert was the most disliked; likely enough, because he held the highest ecclesiastical office in the land, and because further it was easily seen what power he had already begun to exercise over the Confessor's mind. To him were ascribed the miseries which had begun again to afflict the nation. He had, it was said, misrepresented the conduct of the Godwins to the king, and thus opened the wide breach which existed between them; and further, by his calumnious charges against the queen's mother, and the illustrious prelate of Winchester, Alwi, had endeavoured to separate child and parent, and by injuring the character of the mother, had indirectly attacked the honor of the sovereign himself. Thus Godwin and Harold spoke, after they had been restored to favour; and the result was that

¹ Thorn's Chron. col. 1784-5.

² Compare the Anglo-Sax Chron. ad ann. 1048 and 1051.

the royal favorites were by name outlawed: the first name on the list being that of *Robert Archbishop of Canterbury*. The prelate hastened to the Holy See to complain of the injustice practised on him; and Rome did not overlook him or his rights.³ In vain was Stigand elevated after Robert's outlawry, through the influence of the Godwins, to the expelled archbishop's place; for Leo IX maintained that the Prelate of Canterbury was still alive, and that that prelate's rights must be maintained.⁴ Though unable to obtain the archiepiscopal pall from Leo, and though deprived of the jurisdiction and privileges of an archbishop, Stigand retained possession of the See of Canterbury, together with that of Winchester, to which he had already been canonically elected; nor did he abandon his hopes of obtaining the pall, till hope gave way to possession. An Antipope had seized the Pontifical Chair, under the name of Benedict X, and from him Stigand received the archiepiscopal pall, for he cared not from whom he received the honor, provided he did receive it. The invader of the Popedom was not the man to refuse a favour to the invader of the Archbishopric of Canterbury. But Benedict was soon deprived of his usurped power, and the successor of St. Peter, Alexander II, suspended Stigand from the exercise of his Episcopal functions; in consequence of which neither Harold nor the Conqueror was crowned, according to custom, by the Primate of England. William the Conqueror would make use of the man to grace his visit to

he is outlawed,

appeals to the Pope, by whom he is defended.

Stigand suspended by Alexander.

³ That Robert died at Jumieges after his return from Rome, is certain. But when? This, I think, cannot be accurately determined. Ingulph, p. 68, and William of Poitou (44) suppose that he was alive in 1066; for to him they assign the task of informing William the Conqueror that the Confessor had named him his successor to the English throne.

⁴ Malm. 46, and Monast. f. 133.

Normandy,¹ but his services as Archbishop he neither expected nor required, in consequence of the suspension.

Edward
sends mes-
sengers to
the Pope to
obtain pri-
vileges for
Westminster

Before closing the history of the Confessor, it may be as well to refer to the letter addressed by him to Pope Nicholas II. Edward, in compliance with the Pontiff's order, had raised up the splendid Abbey of Westminster, to which he had granted lands and singular privileges and to secure this grant to the Abbey, he sent messengers to Rome: Aldred, Archbishop of York, Giso, Bishop elect of Wells, Walter, Bishop elect of Hereford, and Tosti, Earl of Northumberland. The ambassadors were all treated with the greatest honor by the Pontiff, with the exception of Aldred, who was deposed for a while on the charge of simony; and what was asked was willingly granted. It was appointed that in the new Abbey the Kings of England should hereafter be crowned, and the regalia preserved; and that monks of the holy order of St. Benedict should there live free from all Episcopal jurisdiction. He moreover confirmed all the charters made in favour of the monastery, and appointed the king to be the guardian of the royal abbey. The Papal bull gave infinite satisfaction to the English Court. From this application, and the superscription of the royal letter, it is evident what our forefathers—even kings and nobles—thought of the Papal power. The address made use of was the following: "*To Nicholas, the exalted Father of the Universal Church, Edward, by the grace of God, King of the English, due subjection and obedience.*"²

Their re-
quests
granted.

The king's
submission
to the Pope.

¹ Pict. 153; Orderic, 197.

² Spelman's Concil. vol. i, p. 622; Lambert, Archaionom, c. xvii, p. 142. Collier's answers to Coke, relative to the royal supremacy, are deserving of notice, on account of the historical refutation. See Collier, vol. i, 524, et alibi passim.

To return to the Archbishop. The Pontiff having been solicited by William to send over to England some legates for the purpose of reforming all abuses existing among the clergy, Hermenford, Bishop of Sion, and the Cardinals Peter and John, were sent hither. These convened a numerous meeting at Winchester, where Stigand was at length formally deposed. In vain he threw himself upon the protection of the king; for the monarch observed that, what had been done had been effected by the authority of the Roman Pontiff, and he had not, under circumstances, a right to interfere. Whether William spoke the language of his heart, or under these words concealed his determination to place in the See of Canterbury some other on whom he could more confidently rely, is a problem of doubtful solution. In his words, however, we recognise the principle, to establish which is the object of this work.³

Legates in England at the king's request.

William's language.

Having brought down our history to the Anglo-Norman period, it may be as well to lay before our readers, in a few words, the doctrinal system of the ages recently described—the Anglo-Saxon period. We have already seen that the faith of the Britons was the same as that still professed by the Catholic body spread over the length and breadth of Christendom. Did the Anglo-Saxon Church follow the same doctrinal and disciplinarian system? We have already seen to some extent what was the faith professed, and what the discipline observed by the Anglo-Saxons, for allusions to these matters occur in every page

³ Stigand died in 1069, and was buried at Winchester, where the leaden chest in which his remains were originally deposited, may still perhaps be seen, bearing on it the following inscription:

"*Hic jacet Stigandus Archiepiscopus.*"

of history, and in every ancient charter. Since, however, it may be both interesting and useful to enter here a little more into details, I will devote a few pages to this important subject.¹

Anglo-Saxon
monachism.

1°. *The monastic state* flourished during the Anglo-Saxon era. To this the monasteries of Ripon, Lindisfarne, Wearmouth, Jarrow, Croyland, Peterborough, Malmesbury, Evesham, St. Albans, Glastonbury, Shaftesbury, St. Augustine's at Canterbury, and St. Peter's at Westminster, not to speak of hundreds of others, bear ample testimony. During the periods of invasion, the monastic body had ordinarily more to suffer than any other. The invaders were neither ignorant of the defenceless state of the monasteries, nor of the wealth of which they were possessed: hence their descent upon the religious houses, and the pillage to which these houses were subjected. Ordinarily, however, the very first sign of returning prosperity was the restoration of the injured monasteries, and the return of the cowed fraternity.

The Mass
the great
rite of re-
ligion.

2°. *The principal duty of the clergy was the oblation of the Holy Mass.* Hence the name of *mass-priest* and the title of *mass-thanes*, given to the clergy in contradistinction to that of *world-thanes*, by which distinguished laymen were called. This word occurs in every kind of document, both legal and ecclesiastical. See the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and Spelman and Wilkins Councils in almost any page. From the moment of Augustine's arrival at Canterbury to the last days of the Confessor, we hear of the *mass* being offered up. It was first of all offered by Augustine

¹ After this work was finished, the "Church of our Fathers," by Dr. Rock, fell into my hands. There the scholar will find the question of the faith of the Anglo-Saxons generally ably treated.

in St. Martin's Church, and it was offered up before worshipping thousands on the solemn opening of the Abbey Church of St. Peter's, Westminster, about three days before the sainted Edward breathed his last. The Mass was called, "*the celestial and mysterious sacrifice*;" "*the offering of the victim of salvation*;" "*the sacrifice of the mediator*;" "*the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ*." During the Mass, the warrior was knighted, the virgin was married and blessed, the minister was ordained, the king crowned, and the oath taken.² The days of the year, too, bear evidence to this practice of religion:—"Martinmas," "Lammas," "St. Augustine's Mass-day," "Mass-night of All Hallows," "the Mass-day of the two Martyrs," "St. Andrew's Mass-day," "St. Michael's Mass," "St. Juliana's Mass-day," are the dates of great events, which occur incessantly in our chroniclers. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle alone contains hundreds of dates in this form. This Mass was offered up for the dead as well as for the living. It was offered up for the dead for "the absolution of the soul," that the soul might be freed from pains.³ Hence in all our laws, as we have observed, Masses for the dead are enjoined; and one of the first acts of Canute was to raise up sacred edifices where battles had been fought, in order that the dead might ever be prayed for; and the reader will not fail to remember what an amount of Masses was prescribed to be offered up against the Pagan Danes whilst they were devastating this country.⁴ Persons were most anxious to secure these

The mass-days, designating both seasons and events.

The mass offered for the dead.

² See Liturgiæ Anglo-Sax. *passim*, and the old Sacramentaries.

³ Beda, l. iv, c. xxii, "Pro absolutione animæ, ut anima absolvatur a pœnis."

⁴ For the directions about Vestments, Chalice, Altar, Wine, Water, and Bread, see Wilkins, *Leges Anglo-Sax.* p. 85—87.

Hence gilds. Masses : hence gilds and holy confraternities were instituted for the special purpose of obtaining the benefit of numerous oblations for the souls of the members of these institutions.¹ Hence Churches were raised—hence alms were bequeathed²—and hence the solemn supplications of the dying, who, like Bede, earnestly besought every bystander to remember to offer up Masses and prayers for the repose of their souls.³

3°. *Holy Eucharist*.—From the words already adduced, it is obvious what the faith of our forefathers was relative to the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist. As Venerable Bede says during the Mass, “*the creature of bread and wine is made to pass, by the ineffable hallowing of the spirit, into the sacrament of Christ’s body and blood, and thus his body and blood is not slain and shed by the hands of infidels unto their ruin, but is received by the mouth of the faithful unto their salvation.*”—*Hom. xxxvii*, p. 272. Alcuin tells us that “the Priest consecrates the bread and wine into the substance of the body and blood of Christ.”—*Letter to Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquileia*. Alcuin, t. 1, Epis. 36.

The Eucharist, the body of the Lord.

The *Corporal* of the Altar “is for the service of the Altar, that the body and blood of Christ may be consecrated upon it, and also be covered with or wrapped up in it.”⁴ The pix in which the blessed Sacrament was carried to the sick is called “the bearer of the body of our Lord Jesus Christ.”⁵ At the consecration of the Altar, the

The corporal for the body of the Lord.

¹ Thorpe, i, 236.

² Monast. Anglic. tom. i, p. 222 ; and Codex dip. i, 293.

³ Cuthbert’s letter on Bede’s death. Pref. to C. H. p. xxi.

⁴ Pontif. Egbert apud Martene, ii, 255.

⁵ Ibid. 258.

Bishop prayed that "God's secret power might change the elements selected for the sacrifice into the body and blood of the Redeemer."⁶ At the ordination of the Priest, the Prelate prayed that the Priest "might transmute the bread and wine into the body and blood of the Son of God."⁷ Even it was asserted that God by his interposition made manifest to the doubter the truth of the holy mystery. Osborne, in his life of St. Odo, thus writes: "At that time there were certain of the clergy of Canterbury who endeavoured to maintain that the bread and wine upon the Altar remain after consecration in their former substance; and that the Sacrament is only a figure of the body and blood of Christ, not his true body and blood. This, their enormous infidelity, the holy Archbishop Odo having a desire to root out, he on a certain day, when he celebrated Mass in the sight of the people, besought, with many tears, the Almighty God to bear evidence in his mercy to the truth and nature of the divine mysteries. When, therefore, he was come to the *division of the host*,⁸ presently the fragments of the body of Christ which he held in his hand began to pour forth blood into the chalice. Thereupon, the holy prelate standing at the Altar began to shed tears of joy; and beckoning, he signified to the ministers attending at the Altar, who had wavered in their faith, to come near, and see the wonderful work of God. This as soon as they beheld they cried out, 'Oh, most happy prelate, to whom the Son of God has been pleased to reveal himself visibly in the flesh. Pray for us, Oh, holy Father,

The power
of the mass-
Priest.

History of
St. Odo.

Christ visi-
ble in the
Holy mys-
tery.

⁶ Pontif. Gemet. *ibid.* p. 263.

⁷ Martene, 353—366. See Lingard, vol. ii, Note R, on the belief of the Anglo-Saxons; and of Ælfric in particular, relative to the Holy Sacrament.

⁸ This part of the Mass immediately precedes the Agnus Dei.

that the blood here present to our eyes may be changed into its former form, lest for our errors and disbelief the divine vengeance fall upon us.' He prayed accordingly; after which, looking again into the chalice, he saw the appearance of wine where he *left blood*."¹ To receive the victim on the altar—or, in other words, to receive the communion—was obligatory on all, at least thrice a-year, as we have already frequently seen. As the priest was bound to offer up the sacrifice fasting,² so were the people bound to receive the victim fasting.³ Nor was this the only requisite for a worthy communion. Freedom from grievous sin was imperatively requisite; and hence all were told to go to confession in case of sin, and then, with the permission of the confessor, to approach the holy mysteries. "No one ought to receive it (the communion) without the leave of his confessor, to whom he shall have previously confessed all that he has wrought against God's will, as far as he can recollect, and have made atonement according to his sentence."⁴ Confession was looked upon as necessary for the forgiveness of sins: "No man will obtain forgiveness of his sins from God, unless he confess to some of the ministers of God, and do penance according to his judgment:" "Without confession there is no pardon."⁵ The priest was in the sight of God, and, by his appointment, the instrument of reconciliation. The canons warn

Confession
necessary for
the pardon
of sins.

¹ Osborne in Vita St. Odonis.—For something similar, see Ælfric's homily "on the law of God," which seems to have been composed to correct the misapprehensions of his expressions about the Blessed Eucharist.

² See pref. to Giles' Bede, p. xiv.

³ See Thorpe, ii, 253, and generally the decrees of our Councils in Wilkins; it is mentioned in scores of places.

⁴ Thorpe, *ibid*, 440.

⁵ Whelock, 343—423.

him "to watch attentively with what compunction of heart and with what exactitude of performance the penance imposed was fulfilled; and to judge from that whether *he ought to grant him forgiveness or not.*"⁶ Venerable Bede, l. v, c. 13, tells us of a soldier who was brought by sickness to the point of death. Cœnred, the king, loving him, was anxious for his salvation, and accordingly exhorted him "to confess his sins." But the sick man put off his repentance till he should get better, which was never to be, for he grew worse and worse every day. Again the king, seeing his hopeless state, pressed him to make his peace with God; but the soldier answered that "he would not then confess his sins, but would do it when he had recovered of his sickness, lest his companions should upbraid him for having done, from a fear of death, that which he had refused to do in health." Eventually he died in despair. "This story," says Bede, "I learned of the venerable Bishop Pechthelm; and I have thought proper to relate it in a plain manner for the salvation of my hearers." In the next chapter the same holy writer makes mention of another who died likewise in despair, whose history he thus concludes, "He died without receiving the sacred *viaticum*,"⁷ and his body was buried in the remotest part of the monastery, nor did any one dare *to say masses, or sing psalms, or even to pray for him.*" By the laws of the Church, to which I have had occasion to draw attention more than once, *confession* and *communion* were enjoined three times a-year: the two sacraments went together; one was the preparation for the other.

Facts on this head recorded by Bede.

All bound to confess thrice, each year.

⁶ Thorpe, l. c, 266. See, too, Sermon apud Whelock, p. 405.

⁷ Bede calls this elsewhere "the viaticum of the body and blood of the Lord," l. iv, c. xiv.

Extreme
unction to
be given to
the sick.

Proved from
St. James.

Extreme Unction.—The priest was commanded to anoint the dying. For this end he was bid always to keep consecrated oil ready;¹ and, as an authority for administering this sacrament, is cited by Alfric the famous passage of St. James: "Now, we will tell you how James, the Apostle of God, taught respecting the unction of the sick. He said to the believers thus: 'If any one among you be sick, let him order to be fetched to him the mass-priests of the Church, and let them sing over him, and pray for him, and anoint him with oil in the name of the Lord: and the prayers of the believers shall save the sick man, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he be in sins, his sins shall be forgiven to him.' . . . Thus spake James the Apostle concerning the unction for sick men; but the sick, if he have any guilt unatoned for, must *confess with compunction of heart*, before he be anointed, as the Apostle hath already enjoined: and he must not be anointed before he ask for this, and make his confession."²

Intercession and invocation of Saints.—The belief of our forefathers in the intercessorship of the Saints is not, as far as I am aware, denied by any author in these times. It is manifest in numerous liturgical prayers. In these God is asked to bless man through the intercession of the Saints in general, and of those Saints whose feast days the Anglo-

¹ See *Leges Anglo-Sax.* apud Wilkins, p. 85—87; and *Ælfric's Canons* apud Collier, i, 487.

² See *Canons of Ælfric* apud Thorpe, ii, 354: as also in Collier, i, p. 487. Who could have believed that Collier could have disgraced himself by writing this sentence: "The then Church of England anointed the sick in the hopes of recovery. . . . *Whereas the Church of Rome never applies this sacrament, as they call it, till life is absolutely despaired of.*"—l. c. Let any one consult any Ritual: there he will find quite the reverse to be the fact.

Saxons celebrated—who some of those Saints were we have already seen. In fact, it is common with writers in referring to a Saint, to beg of God to bless through him. Collier³ and others admit thus much: to deny this would be folly—plain and palpable. But did they not directly invoke particular Saints to intercede for them? They did; and this even Spelman admits. After citing Canute's charter to Glastonbury, in which mention is made of the blessed Virgin and other Saints, he observes that at this time the invocation of Saints was common; and this assertion he establishes from an old Litany where, after the addresses to the Holy Trinity, the blessed Virgin is thus thrice invoked, “*Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis* ;” and afterwards the Archangels and Saints are similarly addressed.⁴ Thorpe has published an Anglo-Saxon document, in which directions are given with regard to morning and evening prayer. After stating that the Credo must be said, and some other short addresses to God, it adds, “and this being done, and his Creator alone being worshipped, let him call upon God's Saints that they intercede for him to God: first on St. Mary, then on all God's Saints. And then let him arm his forehead with the sign of the holy

Saints distinctly invoked.

Our intercessors.

³ Collier gives this as a specimen of Anglo-Saxon addresses, from Elstob—taken, I presume, from the office of Prime “*Sancta Maria, Dei genetrix, et omnes Sancti Dei intercedant pro nobis peccatoribus ad dominum, ut mereamur ab eo adjuvari et salvari, qui vivit et regnat deus.*” It is true that our forefathers thus prayed sometimes—and this involves a principle of faith denied by Protestants—but did they only thus pray? Why to the present hour every priest thus daily prays: but does he not do more? The Saxons honoured the Saints, *and besought them to assist them by their prayers.*—See *Lingard, Ang.-Sax. Church.* vol. ii, p. 93.

⁴ See Spelman's *Cencil.*, vol. i, p. 537, ex. Sax. MSS., Bib. pub. Cantab.

Veneration
of relics.

Miraculous
cures.

rood.”¹ Theodore notices the change of language in addressing Christ and his Saints: to the first he says, we say, Christ hear us; but to the Saints, *pray for us*.² Our forefathers, moreover, chose Saints Gregory and Augustine, as also the martyr Boniface and his companions for their special *patrons and intercessors*; as is evident from the synodical letter addressed in 756, by Archbishop Cuthbert to Lullus, the successor of S. Boniface in the See of Mayence.³ And of their belief in the powerful intercessorship of the Saints, and of the *reverence which they exhibited towards their sacred remains*, the Anglo-Saxon records are one continuous proof: I will adduce one or two examples out of Venerable Bede. In the fourth book, chapter the tenth of his History, he mentions how a pious female wished to be taken to a certain burial place, because she felt assured that there she would be restored to sight if she prayed before the relics of the Saints. She went, she prayed, she saw: “as if—the Saint observes—she had lost her sight for no other end than that she might make it appear how great light the Saints enjoyed in heaven, and how great was the power of their virtue.” In the thirty-first chapter, we are told of a miracle effected on a palsied person then living of the name of Bethwegan, through the intercession of St. Cuthbert. “The very garments, which had been on Cuthbert’s body, either

¹ See Thorpe ii, 418, 420, and Ecclesiast. Instit.

² Theod. Pœniten, apud Thorpe ii, 57. “Imprimis dicitur Christe *audi nos*,” ac deinde “Sancta Maria *ora pro nobis* :” and as he rightly observes, we never say to any of the Saints *audi* but *ora*; nor to Christ *ora* but *audi*. How could Collier dare to affirm, as he does, vol. i, pag. 502, that Saints were not invoked before the tenth century.

³ Opp. S. Bonif. Epist. lxx.

whilst living or after he was dead, were not exempt from the power of working cures ;”⁴ and in the next chapter another cure is detailed which was worked through the relics of St. Cuthbert. The veneration paid to the remains of Cuthbert, Oswald, and the Confessor, not to speak of the numerous relics of other Saints of this and foreign countries, must be known to every person who has ever read a page of our history. So great indeed was the veneration for the spot where the sainted Oswald had died, that a trench was formed by the gradual removal of the soil thence, “*as deep as the height of a man,*” to use our sainted historian’s words.⁵ Eadmer, after describing the purchase of the arm of St. Bartholomew, and the offering of it afterwards by the queen of Canute to Canterbury Cathedral, says, “In those days this was the custom of the English to prefer the patronage of the Saints before all other things in the world ;”⁶ and how general was this veneration may be readily gathered from the following observation of the Centuriators :⁷ “In this age when kings formed leagues with one another, their custom was to interchange gifts of relics. So the ambassador of King Charles saluted the emperor in this form : this sign of his fidelity and truth has my master sent you, and presently took out of his bosom the hand of the blessed martyr, St. Denis, enclosed in gold and precious jewels. Take this as a pledge of a perpetual friendship and league.”

Great devotion shown to Oswald.

Relics given as pledges of fidelity.

Such are some of the distinctive doctrines of Anglo-Saxon Catholicity. I have briefly referred to them in

⁴ St. Cuthbert cured a lady with blessed water (holy water).—See *Vita S. Cuth.* c. xxix.

⁵ L. iii, 9.

⁶ Hist. Novor. l. ii, f. 50.

⁷ Cent. Magdeb. cent. x, fol. 336.

These doctrines prove the great difference existing between the Anglo-Saxon and Anglican Church.

order to show that neither in headship nor in doctrine does the Anglican Establishment agree with the Church of the Anglo-Saxon. It would have been an easy matter to have extended to a great length these proofs: to have culled them out of the documents of every age, from the introduction of Christianity by Augustine down to the last days of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty; but such a task would have lengthened, and as I think unnecessarily, this work; for the evidence adduced is of itself convincing, and a reference to the authorities cited will satisfy every dispassionate mind. These ancient records have at length been made accessible to the public. But a few years ago they were not so: they were in the hands of a few who too often polluted the stream of truth, and presented as authentic history garbled extracts and positive misstatements. Even when these few were truest, they were false: they presented the criminal reports, the Old Bailey records of the day, if I may so designate their record of former crimes, as the actual state of the morality of the age; whereas the things recorded were the crimes which the Church anathematized and denounced, and against which it was engaged in waging ceaseless war. The principles of the age; the teachings, exertions, good deeds, and saintly actions of the times have been studiously omitted by several writers, because they were resolved only to print and circulate a record of what was disgraceful. But the days of these Robertsons, Burnets, Humes, Foxes, and Churtons are past. Their works have become valueless, except as records of bygone ignorance and vituperation; and the original records, and the writings of Maitland, Lingard, Palgrave, and a host of other equally truthful writers, are alone esteemed as authoritative.

Chapter the Seventh.

CONTENTS.

Continuous proofs of the dependence of the Church in England on Rome, from the Norman invasion to the year 1534—This dependence evident from every Archiepiscopal appointment; from the appeals of kings, bishops and monks, and from the unvarying conduct of the Popes—Evident too from the doctrines openly professed: these doctrines the same as are now professed by the Catholic Church—Separation when and how, and by whom effected—Results—Conclusion of the work.

THE first acts of the Conqueror bearing upon the Church have already been laid before the reader. We have seen him refusing the spiritual services of Stigand, who had been suspended by the Holy See, and sending for the Papal nuncios by whom the affairs of the English Church might be regulated. We have further witnessed the proceedings of the legates, and the ready compliance which William yielded to all their ordinances. Of his feelings and belief then, on coming to the English throne, there can exist no doubt. Though it was a part of William's policy to appoint his own countrymen to the vacant bishoprics, Stigand's successor was not a Norman. It may be that he feared to manifest his Norman predilections

William the Conqueror's subjection to the Pope.

too much ; or possibly he thought that there was no one of his own countrymen from whose talents as much might be expected, as from the Abbot of St. Stephen's at Caën, the renowned Lanfranc, an Italian by descent, who was born at Pavia in 1005. William had for a long time been acquainted with him. He had indeed conferred on him already the distinguished post of Abbot of the monastery named, which he had recently erected ; and knowing how he had managed the affairs of his monastery, he believed that the appointment of the abbot to the See of Canterbury would be as advantageous to the English Crown as to the English Church. Under this persuasion the monarch solicited him to accept the high office of Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all Britain. But Lanfranc had never felt the cravings of ambition. He had obstinately and successfully refused the Archbishopric of Rouen, and it was not likely that he would leave the land of his adoption, and the school of his fame, for a foreign country and the responsibilities of the Primacy. He refused the king's offer in courteous but firm language ; and represented his unfitness for the dignities which others were anxious to confer upon him, on account of his ignorance of the language, the customs, and habits of the English people. But these objections were overruled ; and Lanfranc at length yielded an unwilling assent, owing, as he himself says, to the positive command which the Roman Pontiff had imposed upon him through his legate *Hubert*. Lanfranc was soon on his way to Rome. He had hoped to have been saved the fatigue of the journey, and to have obtained through his messengers the Archiepiscopal pall ; but in this he was doomed to disappointment. The Pontiff said that it was

Names Lanfranc to Canterbury.

Lanfranc refuses the office.

Yields at the Pope's request.

customary for the Archbishop of Canterbury to appear in person to solicit the honour of the pall, and with this custom he did not feel himself at liberty to dispense; for if the English Metropolitan were exempted, with what reason could the Pontiff compel the Metropolitans of other and more distant regions to appear at Rome. And so Lanfranc went: he went in 1071 with the Archbishop of York, who for some time had refused to take the customary oath to the Primate, on the ground that such an oath was not obligatory on him. But he went with him, and treated him most kindly on the road, and helped him much too, notwithstanding some unsettled differences at the Roman Court. The Pope gave the pall, and Lanfranc came home to reap a harvest of troubles. It would have been well for him if he had always remained at Bec or Caen with holy monks and admiring scholars, for then he would have had no refractory king to correct and oppose and displease as he now had.

Goes for the pall.

Claims a right to visit Rome.

William did not like the prelates journeying to Rome; for Rome was sure to defend the good and condemn the bad, even though the latter were men who wore the royal crown: but Lanfranc insisted on this privilege, and after awhile the monarch sulkily acquiesced. But this acquiescence was extorted from him mainly by the Pope. At this time there sat one in the Chair of St. Peter of indomitable courage and elevated mind, who was determined on reforming the world from end to end, and making every member of the Church, Churchmen and Laymen, worthy members, but worthy especially through the advocacy of the principle of necessary communion with and dependence on Rome. This Pope was Gregory VII, better known under the name of *Hildebrand*. He told William that he

Gregory VII
reproaches
the Con-
queror.

Afterwards
praises him.

William dis-
tinguishes
exactly the
difference of
the temporal
and spiritual
power.

had much to complain of in his conduct; that his forbidding the English bishops to visit Rome was a thing unprecedented, and not even thought of by pagan sovereigns; and that unless he altered his conduct he would assuredly incur the displeasure of St. Peter: and then by virtue of his Pontifical authority he commanded his legate Hubert to invite to Rome two English prelates out of each province to the Synod about to be held at Rome.¹ William obeyed, and eventually was honoured by Gregory with the character of "*a jewel of a prince*."² Certainly, the Conqueror with all his faults deserved well of the Church; for he vigorously opposed the too common crime of simony, restored to the Church whatever goods and lands it had been deprived of by the Norman army on his coming to the crown, caused all depositions to be conducted according to the canons, and paid up all arrears of Peter-pence which were owing to the Pope. The line of demarcation, separating the spiritual and temporal power, he had thoroughly studied and well understood; hence when asked to pay homage to Rome for his temporalities, that he positively refused; for as he well observed he did not hold his kingdom from the Pontiff, nor was the Pontiff his liege lord: but when requested to yield obedience in matters spiritual, even to send up to Rome the offering of England's devotion to the Holy See, this he not only did not refuse, but performed in the most willing and praiseworthy manner.

The king's conduct, as well as the Pontiff's letters,

¹ Baronius Annal. t. xi, ad ann. 1079.

² Greg. I. vii, Epis. xxv. "Nunc ergo charissime, et in Christo semper amplectende fili . . . talem te volo . . . ut omnem obedientiam præbeas; et sicut cooperante deo, gemma principum esse meruisti; ita regula justitiæ et obedientiæ forma, cunctis terræ principibus esse merearis.

certify us of the belief of Pope and King at this period; whilst Lanfranc's journey to Rome, his reiterated solicitations for permission to leave his See;³ his letters addressed to Gregory, in which he declares that "he acknowledges what all the world knows, that he owes to him the dignity of the English primacy,"⁴ further confirm the truth which we have been all along establishing—that England's belief in former ages was the same as the Catholic belief of the present day; to wit, that Rome is possessed of the supremacy, and that to her the whole Catholic world is subject in matters of an ecclesiastical character. The very address or superscription of Lanfranc's letter is of itself sufficient to establish his sentiments: "Reverendo sanctæ universalis ecclesiæ summo Pastori, Gregorio, peccator et indignus Antistes Lanfrancus, servitium cum debita subiectione." Lanfranc died in May 1081. He died broken hearted.

Lanfranc's
letter to the
Pope.

Rufus had succeeded the Conqueror. Inheriting William's faults, without William's virtues, he sadly troubled the Church; usurping its revenues, enslaving its pastors, and violating its most sacred ordinances. The good pastor could not witness this desolation without regret. He wished to die, and his wish was granted. He died like an Augustine before the desolation had reached its height, and England had been made to drink deep of the bitter cup presented to it *by the unprincipled red man*. After Lanfranc's death the first See in England remained vacant for years; it remained vacant until death's hand seemed ready to seize on the royal usurper, whilst on a visit at Gloucester. Then

He dies.

³ See this developed in Döllinger iii, 312, Eng. Trans.

⁴ "Cum Apostolicæ sedis auctoritate, ad ipsius apicem honoris me pervenisse non dubitem, nec quemquam dubitare existimem."—*Epist. S. Greg.* l. vi, c. 30.

Anselm appointed.

he repented, as others had done before him, of his conduct towards the Church: he wished to fill up the vacant Sees, and he named Anselm, the renowned Abbot of Bec, to that of Canterbury; thus hoping, by making his peace with the Church, which through him had long been widowed of its pastors, to be restored to the favour of the Almighty. In vain did Anselm refuse; in vain did he adduce reason after reason in proof of his unfitness for the Archiepiscopal dignity. The monarch overcame every difficulty, and at last was pleased to see his wishes realized. William soon recovered his health; but he had not been reformed by sickness, as facts afterwards proved: he was the same unprincipled tyrant as ever, ready to involve the Church of a nation rather than forfeit the means of gratifying his own unruly longings. He was sorry now to see the revenues of the Primatial See in the hands of another, and deep was the hate which he entertained for the creature of his own appointment. He strove to rid himself of one who would not pander to his unholy wishes; and who refused to give up the property of the poor, and required that prelates should be appointed to the vacant Sees, and abbots to the vacant abbeys. For this end he endeavoured to gain over first the bishops to his side, and then the nobles. Of the bishops several were gained over, but the nobles in a body manfully resisted the designs of their sovereign. These maintained that Anselm's appointment was in accordance with the canons, and it was not consequently either in their or the king's power to deprive him of his dignity.¹ They said they were Christians, and

Infamous conduct of the king.

¹ See the whole account in Eadmer, which is highly interesting. Alford has transcribed the whole, vol. iv, p. 137. See *Annales Ecc. Anglic.* The nobles called some of the prelates *Judases*, others *Pilates*, and others *Herods*, &c. &c.

as such were bound to receive Anselm. They were more faithful to the Church than the bishops. Among these there was evidently much place seeking, much worldliness. The flame which was soon to injure the sanctuary had not burst out; but the fire was there, smothered if you will—but it was there; and eventually it burst forth, how fatally the sequel will show. Foiled in his attempt, the king quietly sent for the pall for Anselm, beseeching his holiness Urban II to send it *to him* for the archbishop. Urban willingly granted the request; and to Walter, Bishop of Alba, the badge of Archiepiscopal authority was committed. He with the greatest secrecy took it to the king, who pleased with Urban's kindness, and anxious to carry out his political purposes, caused the Pontiff to be proclaimed throughout England as the lawful successor of St. Peter; for at this time there had risen up an Antipope to contest the honours of the Popedom. To make Anselm more dependant upon him, William wished to confer the pall upon the Archbishop with his own hands. With several prelates he devised his plans, and when these were ripe for execution, summoned Anselm before him. He told him of what he had done in his behalf, and then offered to invest him with the pall; but to this Anselm sternly objected. He said that to confer the pall was the prerogative of the Pontiff and not of the king; that he would not thus receive it, for he could not do so in accordance with those canons of the Church which it was his duty in an especial manner to observe. The king and his courtiers were sorely perplexed; but they knew too well the character of Anselm to entertain even a distant hope of gaining him over to their wishes by entreaties; and so the pall was carried in solemn procession to Canterbury,

The bishops pander to the monarch's wishes.

The Pope sends the pall at the king's request.

The Archbishop refuses it from the hands of the king.

The pall
taken to
Canterbury.

and there the archbishop took it from the altar, in the presence of crowding thousands, who flocked together to witness this ceremony, and to testify their reverence for their sainted prelate. With the pall came not happiness. The king seemed determined to impoverish the See of Canterbury, and to prevent its archbishop from governing the Church of England;—hence Anselm resolved on leaving the kingdom, in order to lay before the holy Father the particulars of his perplexing situation. But he was unwilling to leave without the royal consent: hence William was solicited to permit the journey; but on various pretexts the permission was obstinately and passionately refused. Anselm would have been indeed glad to have left the kingdom without displeasing the monarch—he told the king so; but at the same time added that since he must go despite of all opposition, he would give his sovereign his blessing unless he refused it. The king bowed his head, and Anselm made over him the sign of the holy cross, and left him—forever. William seized at once on the Archbishopric, and declared that the enactments of Anselm were null and void. After many delays and troubles, the Archbishop and Eadmer, his future biographer, and Baldwin, arrived at Rome, where Urban received them with every mark of honor. The grievances of the Archbishop having been thoroughly examined, Urban wrote to the English king, commanding him to reinstate Anselm in his former position, and leave his affairs in peace;¹ and to this same effect Anselm wrote by order

The Arch-
bishop goes
to the Pope.

¹ “Scribit literas Willielmo regi Angliæ; in quibus ut res Anselmi liberas, in regno suo faceret, ac de suis omnibus illum revestiret; monet, hostatur, imperat.”—Eadmer, l. ii, f. 45. These letters referred to have not been discovered, as far as I know. Certainly they had not been found

of the Pope. But Anselm was tired of his office, and so he over and over again begged of the Pontiff to appoint another in his place at Canterbury. Urban, however, absolutely refused to grant his request. He told him that "a courageous man ought not to abandon his post in the hour of trial," and strictly forbade the request to be repeated. At the Council of Bari, the prelates of the East and West were struck with wonder at the eloquence and learning of Anselm. To him was mainly committed the refutation of the errors of the Greeks, relative to the procession of the Holy Spirit, by the Pope, who saluted him in the presence of the hundred and twenty-three prelates "as his Father and master:" and by him the Greeks were completely silenced. All were grieved who had heard the Archbishop to find so worthy a prelate deprived of his honors by a worthless king; and they urged Urban to vindicate the freedom of the Church by pronouncing the sentence of excommunication against him who was endeavouring to enslave it: and had not Anselm on bended knee conjured the Pontiff to suspend his sentence a little longer, Rufus would have been cut off from the Church. His request was granted; but Urban sent word to Rufus, that unless he quickly made satisfaction for the injuries he had done the See of Canterbury, he would undoubtedly execute the threat which had been already uttered. To pacify the Pope, Rufus sent his ambassadors to Rome, who told the Pope that the English king was surprised at the threats held out against him, for he had distinctly told Anselm that his appeal to Rome would entail upon him the forfeiture of his Archbishopric. "And

Assists at
the C. of
Bari.

Astonishes
the bishops
by his learn-
ing.

The King
threatened
by the Pope.

in the beginning of the seventeenth century. I have not by me the modern life of St. Anselm to consult on this head.

Negotiations
with Rome.

Anselm re-
turns to
England.

is that all," the Pontiff asked, "which you are commissioned to state? Could you think it worth your while to travel as far as Rome to tell me that your Primate was deprived of his See for appealing to St. Peter's Chair? Go and tell your master that unless he wish to incur the high displeasure of the Church, he must restore at once to Anselm all his property and privileges."¹ This answer amazed the ambassador. Fearing the consequences of Urban's displeasure, he humbly besought the Pontiff to suspend the execution of any sentence against the king from Easter till Michaelmas; and what was asked was eventually granted. The messenger went back to England; and Anselm proceeded homewards as far as Lyons, but not before he had assisted at a Council held in Rome, where the Bishop of Lucca, Reingerius, openly reproached the Pope for not acting with sufficient firmness in the case of the Archbishop against the aggressor of the Church, William Rufus.² Urban died, and was succeeded by Paschal II, to whom was sent a detailed account of the sufferings of the English Primate; and soon after Rufus died, "unhouseled, unaneled," on the second day of August, 1100, struck down, it is said, in the New Forest, by an arrow discharged by the Norman, Walter Tyrrel. Anselm was earnestly solicited by William's successor, Henry I, to return to his See. The monarch, indeed, sent an agent to meet him at Clugni, and every promise being made which the Archbishop desired, in connexion with the liberties of his See, Anselm came into England, where he was received with every mark of respect by the people, the king and his court. Still, like his

¹ Eadmer, p. 52.

² Malmes. de gestis Pontif. l. i, p. 127.

Norman predecessors, Henry was anxious to secure to himself the right of investiture. He wished that Anselm should receive the temporalities of his see from himself; but this the Archbishop refused, because these temporalities were not at the king's disposal, and especially because all prelates had been lately forbidden by the Council at which he had assisted, and the acts of which he had signed, to acknowledge a temporal lord's right of investiture. "If Henry," he added, "intend to observe the enactments of Rome, let him desist from his present endeavours; but if he will not do so, then let him know that Anselm will again leave a kingdom in which he cannot enjoy the rights of ecclesiastical liberty." Henry proposed to leave the matter to the arbitration of the Holy See: he and Anselm were to send their agents to Rome; and on the following Easter the affair of investiture was to be finally settled. One circumstance, however, soon brought the king to reason; his crown was in danger from his brother Robert; and to secure the crown, it was deemed expedient to secure the important and overwhelming influence of his Primate. Accordingly, Henry made most liberal promises to Anselm; swore to observe the laws regarding the Church, which were in force in good King Edward's days,³ and declared that he would hereafter leave the affairs of religion in his hands, and be governed by the instructions and commands of the Holy See. In consequence of this promise, the Archbishop exerted himself in the king's behalf, and, as Eadmer observes, "kept the crown by his influence upon the king's head."⁴ But when the storm had passed over the monarch,

Struggles
about investiture.

Henry promises fairly.

³ Eadmer, l. iii, 55; and Wigorn ad ann. 1100.

⁴ Ibid, l. iii, 59.

Henry resumed his schemes of enslaving the Church, by assuming the contested right of investiture. But Paschal's letters arriving—they were brought by the messengers sent by the king and archbishop—placed the monarch in an awkward position. The Pontiff tells him that whilst the promise of "paying the same regard to the Holy See which had been paid by his father, is very specious and agreeable," the king's intentions, as explained by his ambassadors, are far from being so; for from them it appears that it is expected of the Holy See to grant to the English crown the right of investing bishops and abbots—a thing which cannot be conceded; and this idea he developes in the most forcible and energetic language.¹

The Pontiff's letter.

Anselm further troubled.

Fresh messengers sent to Rome.

The Pope's letter to the King

Notwithstanding this letter, the king would not yield. He insisted on Anselm's either doing him homage for his temporalities or quitting the kingdom. The Archbishop replied that he could not comply with the first part of the royal request without incurring the sentence of excommunication; and therefore he would not do what was required of him. After awhile it was agreed upon to send fresh messengers to Rome; but nothing was gained by this system of procrastination—of pretended submission indeed, but, in fact, of real opposition, to the Papal decrees. Paschal addressed fresh letters both to the king and archbishop. In the former he tells the king that, "if he will maintain the Church in her liberties, and stop the contest about investitures, he may depend on the friendship of the Holy See: this See cannot yield in the matter of dispute, it having, by the direction of the Holy Ghost, forbidden all kings and laymen whatsoever to give investiture; *for it is by no means reasonable that the mother should be*

¹ Eadmer, l. iii, pp. 59, 60, 61.

made a slave of the son." In his second letter, he congratulates the Archbishop on his firmness, and exhorts him to maintain the contest, and never to allow anything and Archbishop. opposed to the Lateran decrees; and as a reward for his fidelity, confirms the primacy to the See of Canterbury, and exempts Anselm from the jurisdiction of any Roman legate.² These letters were again evaded. It was pretended that the Pontiff had *said* something in modification of what he had written. This was solemnly denied by Anselm's messengers, but as solemnly affirmed by those of the royal party; and so it was agreed upon to send fresh messengers to the Papal court. The Pontiff was amazed at the effrontery of those who had dared to misrepresent Evasions on the part of the English Court, him. He wrote to Anselm to say that he had been grossly misrepresented; that he had never even thought of conceding what he was said actually to have granted; and, indeed, he could not grant what was asked of him.³ The king did not even now despair. He begged of Anselm to go to Rome; and at the same time privately sent Warrelwast to remind the Pope of the munificence of the English kings towards Rome and its Pontiff; and to beseech him graciously to concede the favour so often asked, but so often denied. Still Rome was inflexible. Paschal and Paschal's firmness. told the messenger that he would rather die than grant what was asked;⁴ and he wrote this to the king. Anselm stopped at Lyons, and thence addressed a letter to his sovereign, in which he requested to know what the king proposed doing. "If the king," he said, "shall still oppose the Church, then Anselm will be forced to live in exile, to the great detriment of the Church in England." The wilful sovereign again troubled Rome with his mes-

² Eadmer, p. 64.³ Ibid, l. iii, p. 71.⁴ Ibid, l. iii, p. 72.

Excommuni-
cation of
Mellint.

Anselm de-
termines to
excommuni-
cate the
King.

He gains his
ends, and
dies.

sengers; but Paschal, to convince the English court that his authority was not thus to be trifled with, excommunicated the Earl of Mellint,¹ and the others who had either counselled their sovereign to adopt or to prosecute his present line of policy. Anselm believed, that he, too, had a duty to perform towards the sovereign: he had to vindicate the Archiepiscopal rights; and to do so, he meditated no less desperate a course than the excommunication of the king. Henry heard of this, and was anxious to avoid the blow. He proposed terms of reconciliation; met the Archbishop in Normandy; restored to him his temporalities; and treated him with great regard. Agents being again sent to Rome, the king and archbishop came to the following understanding, by permission of Pope Paschal: the king was to abandon all claim to investiture by ring and pastoral staff; but the bishops and abbots were to do homage for their temporalities.² Then the vacant sees were filled; and the mischief effected by this long contest between Church and State began gradually to be repaired. Anselm did not long survive his triumph. The king yielded in 1107, and the archbishop died on the 21st of April, 1109. Before his death, however, he had again occasion to appeal to the Holy See. The prelate appointed to the archiepiscopal See of York, feeling desirous of evading the oath which his predecessors had taken to the See of Canterbury, put off his consecration, under the belief that Anselm's death would free him from this obligation. He wished to place, if possible, York on an equality with Canterbury. Anselm, who saw through his intention, reminded him of the necessity of receiving ordination within a given time; and seeing him still delay, strictly forbid any prelate to

¹ Eadmer, 78-9.

² Ibid, 77.

consecrate him, and wrote to the Pontiff to apprise him of what had been done, and to beseech him not to deliver the pall for York to any other person than to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Cardinal Ulric, arriving soon after Anselm's death, with the pall, which he was instructed by the Pontiff not to deliver to the new archbishop until he had taken the customary oaths to Canterbury, hardly knew how to act. The prelates, however, and king, being unwilling to incur the excommunication pronounced by Anselm, would not consent to the consecration of York or delivery of the pall until the archbishop had sworn to be obedient to the See of Canterbury. Thus Anselm during life maintained the privileges of his See and the primacy of Rome; and even after death, his firmness caused the rights of both to be openly admitted and maintained. Even in smaller matters connected with the Church, kings and archbishops have plainly enunciated this truth: Rome is supreme. The greater the obstinacy of kings, and the more numerous their appeals, the plainer have they written on the page of history that England once was subject to the Holy See; and not many ages have passed away since this dependence was her glory and her boast. Before concluding the history of this period, it may be as well to notice a fact or two recorded by Eadmer, relative to our archbishop. Murtogh, king of Ireland, and Dermeth his brother, in connexion with the Irish prelates, Domnald, Iduman of Meath, Samuel of Dublin, and Ferdomnach of Leinster, being anxious to raise Waterford to the dignity of a bishopric, humbly besought Anselm, as their primate and legate³ of the holy See, to grant their re-

Cardinal Ulric brings the pall.

The Irish prelates obey Anselm, because Papal legate.

³ Quatenus Primatus quem super eos gerebat potestate et quâ fungebatur vicis Apostolicæ autoritate!—Eadmer, l. ii, p. 36.

None but those possessed of the pall allowed to be ordinarily preceded by the cross.

quest, and to consecrate the priest Malchus, whom they had chosen for this dignity.¹ And Anselm exercised his authority as Archbishop. It appears that one of the petitioners, Samuel, bishop of Dublin, had assumed the privilege of having a cross borne before him on the highways. Anselm tells him that this has been reported to him, and that, if it be true, this is not to occur again, since those only are permitted to have the cross borne before them who have received the pall from Rome.² Englishmen and Irishmen admitted the authority of Anselm, because that authority had been received from the Mother and Mistress of all Churches.

Paschal hesitates about conceding the pall to Radulph.

Radulph, Anselm's successor, was elected in the year 1114. Immediately afterwards the most pressing letters were forwarded to Rome, supplicating the Pontiff to grant, as usual, the pall to the Archbishop: "Ut ei pallium quod omnes antecessores sui, a sacratissima sede Beati Petri consecuti sunt, transmittere dignemini."³ But Paschal II was not easily induced to assent. He was indignant at the translation of Radulph from his See of Rochester without the Papal sanction; and his displeasure he expressed both by word of mouth, and by letters addressed to the king and the clergy. He tells them that they must remember that "the Scriptures enjoin great prudence in the election of bishops, and that, therefore, these appointments should be made with the advice of Rome. In the present instance, 'some persons have encroached on the authority of the Holy See.' 'The liberty of making translations without having recourse to us is altogether unwarrantable; the

¹ Eadmer, Hist. Nov. l. ii, p. 36.

² Apud Usset Vet. Epist. Hib. Syllop. p. 69.

³ Eadmer, l. v, p. 112; and Sax. Chron. ad ann. 1114.

regulation of such affairs essentially requiring the authority of the Pontiff. However, if for the future you are willing to defer, as you ought, to the Apostolic See, we shall treat you as brothers and sons, and oblige you with any favours which are proper and practicable. But if you be determined to persist in your obstinacy, we shall then, like the Apostles, shake the dust off our feet against you, and look upon you as rebels against the Catholic Church.”⁴ He further tells the king of his degeneracy, and of the opposition which he had thrown in the way of the Pontiff; still he assures him that he hopes for better things for the future, and, under this conviction, grants his request in favour of the newly-appointed prelate, Radulph. To Anselm, abbot of St. Saba, and nephew of the late archbishop, the pall was entrusted. It was carried in great state to Canterbury, and placed on the archbishop, after he had made the usual declaration of fidelity and canonical obedience to the Holy See.⁵ At this period was again raised the dispute relative to the admission of Papal legates into this kingdom, and the French territories which belonged to our English sovereign, without the sovereign’s assent. The Pontiff, on the one hand, claimed a right, by virtue of his supremacy, to visit, through his legates, this as well as every other kingdom; whilst, on the other hand, the king and the archbishop claimed exemption from these inquisitorial visits, on account of former pontifical indults, as well as on the stronger ground, of the Primate of Canterbury being, in fact, the Pope’s legate here. That the Pontiffs had appointed the Bishops of Canterbury to act as their legates, was indeed indisputable; but it was equally

Terms of the concession.

The archbishops of Canterbury take an oath of fidelity to Rome.

⁴ Eadmer, l. v, p. 114.

⁵ Ibid, l. c and Sax. Chron. ad ann. 1115.

Grounds of
objection to
the admis-
sion of Papal
legates.

King's letter
to the Pope.

The Pope's
reply.

clear that they had often, too, sent their legates to reform the clergy, and frame laws for the better government of the Church. Of this we have already seen several examples.¹ By making the Archbishops of Canterbury their ordinary legates, the Popes had not intended, nor would this have been desirable, to deprive themselves of the power of sending hither, when circumstances required it, extraordinary messengers. But the favour was looked upon as essentially exclusive by Henry; and hence, when Paschal II sent Anselm to visit the English Church, and Cardinal Cono to discharge the duties of legate in Normandy, the king sent letters and messengers to Rome to complain of the Pontiff's conduct. He told the Pope that he had virtually recalled the favours granted to his father, his brother, and himself;² and that such conduct was unworthy of the Pontiff. Radulph, the archbishop, went in person to Rome, to remonstrate with the Pope; but the Pope was then at Benevento, and thither Radulph did not follow him, owing to the state of his health and the troublesomeness of the times. He wrote, however, to Paschal, by whom an evasive answer was returned, stating that he had no intention either to detract from the dignity of the See of Canterbury, or to revoke the privileges conceded by his predecessors.³ Later, however, the privilege was fully recognised, and granted to Henry at Gisors on the confines of Normandy, where the Pontiff Calixtus and the monarch met. The Pope granted to Henry all the favours conferred on the Conqueror, and specifically the one sought for, namely, that no foreign legate should be placed over

¹ See, too, Bede, iv, 18; and Wilkins, i, 146.

² Eadmer, l. v, p. 116.

³ Baronius, ad ann. 1117, sect. 10; and Eadmer, 120.

the English, unless at the particular request of the king.⁴ Hence it was that when Peter, the legate of the Holy See, came hither, he did not exercise any legatine authority, but contented himself with the ordinary courtesies paid by the English court and clergy to a legate of the Apostolic See.⁵ During Radulph's possession of the See of Canterbury, our ecclesiastical history, as we have already in part seen, is full of proofs of the supremacy of Rome, and that unity of faith which made the various nations of the earth one. I will, in illustration of this latter position, remind the reader that it was in 1119 that the celebrated Council of Rheims was held, at which the Roman Pontiff presided, and at which the Bishops of Durham, St. David's, Landaff, and Exeter, assisted. Ill health prevented the English primate from attending. He died on the 20th of October, 1122, and was succeeded by William Corboul, or Corbois, as he is sometimes called, formerly prior of St. Osyth's, of Chiche, near Colchester. Early in the Lent of 1123, he went to Rome for his pall, accompanied by the abbots of Glastonbury and Bury St. Edmunds, Gifford, a chaplain to the king, and several others.⁶ The Pope was slow in noticing Corboul, for "he had been given to understand that Corboul had received the archbishopric in opposition to the monks of the monastery, and against right;⁷ but eventually the Pontiff was satisfied, and so the pall was given with the Papal blessing. John De Crema, the Papal legate, quickly followed the archbishop. Henry at first objected, on the grounds already adduced, to his entering the kingdom; but eventually his assent was obtained.

Several English bishops assist at the Council of Rheims.

Corboul receives the pall.

⁴ Eadmer, v, 125-6.

⁶ Sax. Cron. ad ann. 1123.

⁵ Ibid, vi, 138.

⁷ Ibid.

The papal legate goes to Scotland to arrange some ecclesiastical matters.

Honors paid him at Westminster and Canterbury.

The legate went to the north as far as Roxburgh, where the Scotch king, David, received him. To treat of the affairs of the Scotch Church, especially the rights which York claimed over the Scottish prelates, was one of the objects of the Cardinal's visit, as is clear from the Papal letters. Next, with the concurrence and by the appointment of the Archbishop of Canterbury,¹ De Crema convened a Synod at Westminster, at which he presided. The two archbishops were present, with twenty suffragans, forty abbots, and a large assemblage of the inferior clergy. At the Council, the legate's chair was conspicuous above all the others for its elevation, and the same distinction was conferred on the Papal representative in the Cathedral of Canterbury, where he officiated on Easter Sunday.² The archbishop accompanied the legate on his return to protest, it is stated, against the mission of legates into England. But Honorius was not to be gained over on this point, as some of his predecessors are said to have been; the most that he would consent to being the grant of the legatine authority to Corboul in England and Scotland.³ Innocent, the successor of Honorius, confirmed the grant of his predecessor to the archbishop; and in this capacity the archbishop convened and presided at a national Synod, held at Westminster in 1127.

¹ Spelman's Con. ii, 33.

² Gerv. Dorob. Acta Pont. p. 1663.

³ Wigorn, ad ann. 1125; Wharton, Anglia Sac. i, 792; Eadmer, 58. Collier, ii, 179; and others, severely condemn William for receiving the office of legate; for they imagine that thus the independence of the Church was sacrificed. But this independence is only a day dream. The Pope, as we have shown, and as Collier frequently had observed, claimed and exercised jurisdiction over all the land. This William admitted, as all his predecessors had done.—See Malmes. 112-116. William appealed against foreign legates, because Rome had given this dignity to Canterbury.

Whilst Stephen, who succeeded Henry in the English throne, was striving to give stability to his claims in opposition to those of the rightful claimant Maud, he solemnly pledged himself by oath to leave intact the possessions and privileges of the Church; and in the charter which he published at Oxford it was stated that "holy Church shall enjoy her ancient freedom; shall retain her ancient possessions, and no opposition shall be raised to the full and free observance of the canons." Deceived by these declarations and other statements relative to Stephen's right to the English crown, the clergy of the kingdom as well as the Pontiff of Rome acknowledged the usurper as rightful sovereign. The prelates swore obedience; but with this clause, that this obedience was to cease when Stephen should forget or violate the solemn promises exacted and agreed to relative to the liberties and immunities of the clerical order. How quickly and shamelessly Stephen broke through every promise, every reader of English history knows. Suffice it to say, that the Church was forced to offer unceasing opposition to the monarch's tyranny, and that the whole country was in a state of confusion which can hardly find a parallel in the fires and bloodshed of the Danish invasion. Corboul did not long live after Stephen's accession. It is said that remorse and sorrow killed him. The memory of Maud whom he had abandoned, and the oath taken to an usurper, made life miserable: he died in 1136.

Stephen acknowledged by the Pope.

Pope Innocent sends his legate hither.

During the vacancy of the See of Canterbury Innocent II sent into England his legate Alberic, in 1138. Out of regard to the Pontiff the legate was honourably received; and in a Council held in London, at St. Paul's,

Alberic presided to the great mortification of the king's brother, Henry Bishop of Winchester, who had been, with the permission of the Pope, acting as legate during the vacancy of the Primatial See. He commanded eventually, in the Pope's name, a successor to be appointed to Corboul; and in accordance with this command, Theobald of Bec was chosen archbishop. This election fell like a thunderbolt on the ambitious and vacillating Henry of Winchester, who had confidently expected the primatial as well as the legatine dignity. Theobald was consecrated by the Cardinal legate, whom he afterwards accompanied to Rome on the usual business. Alberic returned to his master to report the proceedings of his Council; the archbishop went to receive the pall¹ from the hands of Innocent II. Whilst Theobald was at Rome a Synod was held there, at which not only the archbishop assisted, but also at the command of the Pope several other English prelates, Simon of Worcester, Roger of Coventry, Robert of Exeter, and Reynald abbot of Evesham.² The canons of this Council were brought into England, and there published by the prelates in their respective dioceses. Innocent was the friend of the Bishop of Winchester. Him he had, contrary to all precedent, made papal legate, notwithstanding the ancient rights of Canterbury; and this change caused much trouble and many appeals to Rome, for it rendered the position of the Archbishop of Canterbury strikingly anomalous. As Prelate of Canterbury he was canonically placed above Winchester; he was his superior; whilst Winchester in the capacity of papal legate was superior to his own archbishop. Theobald and

The legate commands that a successor to Corboul be appointed.

Theobald goes for his pall.

The Bishop of Winchester made legate; inconvenience of the appointment,

¹ M. Paris, ad hunc ann.

² Wigorn, ad ann. 1139.

Henry repeatedly laid their case before the Holy See :³ the former to recover the position held by his predecessors, the latter to retain the character which the Pontiff had conferred upon him. Whilst Innocent lived, Henry's influence was successful at Rome; but when Celestine became possessed of the Pontifical throne, Henry was deprived of his authority, which was given to Theobald. Henry's mortification at his disgrace was great; he resolved on revenging himself on Theobald, and soon an opportunity presented itself of gratifying his mortified pride. Eugenius III had summoned a Council at Rheims, at which the archbishop and three other English prelates were ordered to appear. Henry of Winchester at once saw the difficulties in which the Primate might be placed. If he wrote to the Pope to command Theobald to appear, and also to the king to inhibit him, he would effectually subject his Primate either to the censures of his Holiness or the displeasure of his sovereign. He carried his evil designs into execution. The king positively refused his assent; and Theobald determined on displeasing his sovereign rather than the Pope, who had a right to his services in the Synod, a right which the sovereign had admitted and sworn to allow, left without the royal permit. On his return he was sent into exile; but in exile the honour of his See and the laws of the Church were firmly guarded. A sentence of interdict⁴ was pronounced against the lands of the king, which was immediately executed, and the king himself was threatened with the sentence of excom-

but deprived
by Celestine.

His malevo-
lence.

Theobald
displeases
the king by
going to the
Council of
Rheims,

³ The *unproved* and satirical observations of Parker relative to these appeals and their results, are undeserving of notice. Unfortunately this writer tosses off the most random statements without seeming to believe that proofs can be required.

⁴ Gervase, 1363.

munication by Eugenius, as we are distinctly told by Theobald's successor, the illustrious St. Thomas of Canterbury.¹ This threat, and the cessation of divine service, alarmed the monarch and his friends, and they were anxious enough, in order to escape additional calamities, to make peace with the Church and its archbishop Theobald. But soon was the archbishop forced again to displease the king. Anxious to secure the succession to Eustace, Stephen commanded the archbishop to crown his son. This order was given at a Synod of the clergy and laity, held at London in 1151. But Theobald refused: he had received, he said, orders from the Pontiff not to crown the young prince, since a crown procured by perjury and violence could not be transmitted by way of inheritance. The king was indignant: he commanded the prelates to be confined, and by menaces endeavoured to frighten them into an acquiescence in his wishes. But all was to no purpose; and so recourse was next had to kindness, and apologies for former ebullitions of feeling, and the prelates were permitted to return to their respective Sees. Eustace died in 1153, and Stephen soon followed his eldest child to the grave.² He died at Canterbury on the 25th of October, 1154, and by his death England was rid of one of the greatest tyrants who had ever worn the English crown. The archbishop survived him some years; but to the end of life he remained the staunch supporter of the Holy See, and the inflexible maintainer of the liberties of his Church. If zeal, if prudence, if virtue deserve a reward, assuredly the favour shown by Eugenius to Theobald was well merited. Throughout the long period of his Archiepis-

and refuses
at the Pope's
command to
crown Ste-
phen's son.

¹ L. i, Epist. 136 ad Bosonem Cardinal.

² Huntingdon, l. viii, 226.

copal administration—he ruled the See of Canterbury for two and twenty years—he faithfully and zealously discharged every duty of his office; and his last letters, written a short while prior to his decease to the Pope, the king, and the clergy of England, are so many standing memorials of wisdom, foresight, and prelatie energy. He earnestly commends to Alexander III the Brothers of the Convent of St. Osyth. He begs of him as the successor of Blessed Peter, to secure them against all further injuries, and to exercise in their behalf a real Apostolical authority.³ He tells his clergy that Alexander, who had been raised to the dignity of Supreme Pontiff—was the head of the Church—was the successor of St. Peter, and him all must obey.⁴ Henry is told that, though some unprincipled persons may endeavour to persuade him that the royal prerogatives will be increased by lessening the authority of the Church, such language is false, and if acted upon will prove injurious to the crown. Hence he warns him against such counsellors, and bids him shew his gratitude to God for his favours, by honouring God and securing to the Church her fulness of authority.⁵

His zeal and devotedness to Rome manifested in his last letter.

St. Thomas à Becket Archbishop.

Theobald was succeeded by St. Thomas à Becket, and Stephen by Henry II. These two names are so full of reminiscences of the supremacy of the Holy See, as admitted here and elsewhere in the twelfth century, that the very mention of them will be admitted by the well informed reader to be quite sufficient evidence of the

³ Epis. xxxix, apud Joan. Sarisbur.

⁴ In capite Ecclesiæ, Sede Petri, virum Apostolicum (Deus) statuit, virum Apostolicum, electum et consecratum canonice, &c. Is est Dominus Alexander.—Epist. 65, apud Joan. Sarisbur.

⁵ Epis. 64, apud Joan. Sarisbur.

faith of this period. For the sake of the general reader a few facts will be adduced in confirmation of the point which we have to establish. Hardly had Henry obtained the English crown, when anxious to subject the kingdom of Ireland, and place it under the dominion of England, he wrote to Adrian, the only Englishman who ever sat in St. Peter's chair, to beg of his Holiness to sanction the undertaking. The monarch assured the Pontiff that his permission was asked because it was universally admitted that every Christian¹ island was the property of the Holy See; and that if he sought to be Lord of Ireland his object was to provide instruction for the ignorant, to reform abuses, stop the progress of crime, and oblige the Irish to pay like England an annual tribute towards the support of the Holy See.² Adrian received the royal messenger, John of Salisbury, kindly, and granted what the king required. He reminds Henry of the conditions of the grant, which the king himself had named, one of which was that the rights of the Churches of Ireland "should be whole and untouched," and commanded him to adhere faithfully to his promise, and not to interfere with the Churches' rights. Henry soon visited his new kingdom; and "*all the archbishops and bishops* accepted him and his heirs as their kings and lords, and confirmed this grant by

Henry's request to Adrian in respect to Ireland.

The Pope grants it conditionally

¹ Christian and Catholic were in these as in former ages synonymous terms. It is truly pitiful to see how even in these days men can gravely inform the country that Ireland was Protestant till the days of Henry II. Have they never even heard of the petition addressed to Anselm, or read one page of Lanighan. See on the religion of Ireland Dr. Rock's letter to Lord J. Mannors.

² See the letter in Baronius, ad ann. 1155, copied by him from the original in the Vatican. It may be found too in Alford, vol. iv, part ii, ad ann. 1155.

writing.”³ “A copy of these instruments was forwarded to the Pontiff, who by the Apostolic authority confirmed to Henry and his heirs the kingdom of Ireland, according to the form of the writings of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland.”⁴ These facts attest Henry’s faith clearly enough. Let us proceed to examine the history of the new archbishop.

Thomas, who was chosen archbishop in 1162, was consecrated by Henry of Winchester on the octave day of Pentecost. He was the first Englishman who had been raised to this high dignity since the Conquest; and great were the rejoicings on the day of his consecration, greater by far than were usual even on such occasions. This hallowed victim was led to the altar in the richest ornaments of the Christian sacrifice, encircled by a mighty band of nobles and exulting friends. Henry’s son, and fourteen prelates, graced the high festival. A deputation was immediately dispatched to Rome, to petition the Pontiff, Alexander III—Adrian was dead, and Alexander had succeeded him—to grant the pall to the new archbishop. The request was willingly acceded to. Alexander was particularly attached even at this period to the new archbishop, and though the grounds of this predilection have not been accurately discovered, it is evident from the writings of the period that this affection did exist, and was markedly exhibited. On occasion of St. Thomas’ visit to Tours, to assist at a Council called together by Alexander,

Rejoicings at
à Becket’s
consecra-
tion.

Alexander’s
love of
à Becket.

³ “Jure nimirum ecclesiarum illibato et integro permanente.”—Epist. Adriani PP. ad Henric II apud Girald., Camb. in Hib. Expug. l. ii, c. vi, p. 787. “Jura ecclesiarum illius terræ illibata et integra conservare.”—Baron. l. c.

⁴ Hoveden Annal. p. 302.

Importance
of this
friendship.

the whole town went out to meet him ; and the prelates, and all the cardinals but two, also joined with the people in thus testifying their reverence and extraordinary regard. Whatever Becket asked for his See was conceded ; and thus again all the privileges granted at various periods to his predecessors were renewed.¹ It was well for à Becket that he had a friend in the Pontiff and the stranger ; for during the rest of his life he really required a friend. His was a life-long struggle for the independence of the Church against kingly aggression ; and to sustain these struggles of right against might, it is useful to have some faithful and conscientious abettors. And these his struggles were not assuredly forgotten or forgiven at the beginning of the English Reformation ; for then he was summoned, after having been dead and buried nearly four centuries, to answer him for this his opposition to royalty, who the first of all our sovereigns wrenched England from Rome, and claimed for himself the title of “ Head of the Church,” and the power and right to violate every ecclesiastical law by which this country had been governed from the end of the sixth to nearly the middle of the sixteenth century. Then the very name of Thomas à Becket was found to contain treason, and his memory became hateful. His bones were torn from their sepulchre ; the sepulchre was destroyed ; his name was erased from every book of prayer, and it was made a crime to honour him as a Saint of God. Soon after Becket’s return to Canterbury he discovered that the possessions of his Church and the liberties of the clergy had been assailed. The possessions of his Church at Rochester and Tunbridge he claimed, to the great displeasure of some favourites of the English monarch. But by vindicating

Spiteful and
foolish pro-
ceedings
against the
Saint at the
Reformation

¹ See *Quadril*, l. i, c. xix.

the liberties of his clergy the royal indignation was principally enkindled. The king bent on inflicting more severe punishment on clerical offenders than the clergy could canonically inflict, insisted on even clerical delinquents appearing before the secular courts to be judged. This was absolutely refused by à Becket. He stated that the laws of the realm which the king had sworn to observe² freed all clergymen for a first offence from the lay courts; that he could not give up this point without compromising his principles and placing the Church of England in a more abject state than was the Church in any other land: he could not then gratify the monarch, nor could the monarch expect to be obeyed. Henry summoned the clergy to Westminster, and there insisted upon their obedience. Will you promise to observe *the customs* of the land? asked the king: we will, *saving our order*, was the nearly unanimous reply. The king left them, calling them a band of conspirators.² The storm was now gathering, and to escape its fury was the object which mainly engaged the attention of nearly all the prelates. From a belief that the king would act kindly towards the Church, if the favour he asked were conceded, all but one—that one was à Becket—agreed that it would be better to drop the offensive clause, and promise absolutely what the king required. But Becket for a while was not to be moved. At length however yielding to the importunities of those around, and crediting statements favourable to the concession, which were in fact untrue, he consented to abstain from further opposition, and to suppress the obnoxious

Origin of St. Thomas' troubles.

Demands made by the king.

The archbishop yields

² See *Leges Sax. passim*, which were confirmed by each sovereign at the time of his coronation.

³ Quadril, 18-19.

but all important *salvo*. Henry had gained his point; he would secure it. For this end he convened the prelates at Clarendon, where they were asked to repeat their promise. Thomas again hesitated; but the sight of knights with drawn swords in the next chamber, which had been thrown open, induced the prelates to supplicate him to yield, and not involve them in ruin. Unwillingly he complied: after his compliance the sixteen *customs* were read—they are known by the name of the Constitutions of Clarendon—and subscribed by the king, prelates, and several barons. By signing this document the prelates had given up privileges for which their predecessors would have died. In one moment they had given up the custody of vacant bishoprics to the king, the privilege of their own order in respect to trials, the right to excommunicate royal offenders, and to appeal to the Holy See in person without the king's permission: this they had done, and much more. If a man of conscience like Becket felt ashamed at these concessions, and sorrow for having betrayed the Church to gratify the wishes of an unscrupulous king, no one will wonder. He interdicted himself from the exercise of his functions, wrote to the Pontiff to expose his own misconduct, and humbly asked for absolution from his fault.¹ Henry wished to obtain the Pope's approval of the "Customs," as also the nomination of the Archbishop of York to the dignity of Legate; but Alexander refused both requests. He looked upon the *Constitutions* as highly insulting, and he returned the instrument to the royal clerks, John of Oxford and Geoffrey Ridel, with a look of inexpressible displeasure.

After Becket's compliance with the wishes of his sove-

¹ Gervas. col. 1388.

Again hesitates.

Constitutions of Clarendon.

He repents, and writes to the Pope.

reign, every kind of accusation was urged against him, and numerous demands were made of him by the king and his party at Northampton, which were at once unjust and unreasonable. Seeing the course of things, the archbishop resolved to escape further molestation from the court and the bishops, who were ready to pander to every wish of the monarch, by appealing to Rome. He forbade the bishops in the most solemn manner to sit in judgment on him, and when the Earl of Leicester rose to pronounce sentence against him, "Hold, exclaimed the archbishop," "the son should not pronounce sentence against his father. I protest against both your sentence and the king's: I appeal to a higher court—to the Court of Rome; and now, under the protection of the Catholic Church and Apostolic See, I depart."² He left the hall of judgment, procured a vessel at Sandwich in Kent, and arrived shortly after at Gravelines.³

He appeals to Rome.

Henry had hoped to have induced the French monarch, through the instrumentality of Gilbert Foliot Bishop of London, and the Earl of Arundel, to refuse shelter to the archbishop in his dominions. But the French king would not consent to their wishes. "I am a king no less than your master," he said, to the strangers who talked of the *late* Archbishop Becket, "and yet I have no authority to act towards the least clerk in my dominions in the manner in which an archbishop is treated by your king." The observation was not agreeable either to the time serving and unworthy Foliot, or to the earl: they soon left the French court. Louis received the archbishop with every demonstration of regard, and further he besought the

Noble conduct of the French king.

² Fitz Stephen, p. 32. Gerv. col. 1393.

³ Hoveden, fol. 284.

Pontiff, then at Sens, if he valued his friendship to protect Becket against the English tyrant.¹

The Pope
condemns
the Consti-
tutions.

If he could not corrupt a monarch like Louis, Henry hoped at least to gain over Alexander the Pontiff. For this end he sent with all speed a splendid embassy to him, consisting of the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of Winchester, London, Exeter and Chichester, three clerks, and the Earl of Arundel, Hugh de Gundevil, Bernard de St. Vallerie, Henry Fitzgerald, &c. &c.² These arriving before Becket, endeavoured to prejudice the Pontiff, and to induce him to prejudice the cause: but nothing was gained further than this—a promise was made that papal legates should be sent to England to examine into the whole affair. The royal envoys, being unwilling to be met by the archbishop, hastened homewards. Thomas at length arrived. He had prudently provided himself with a copy of the Constitutions of Clarendon, which he at once placed before the Holy Father. Of these Constitutions ten were formally condemned; and if Hoveden's authority can be relied on,³ all the maintainers of those customs were excommunicated by Alexander.

Henry's re-
venge.

Foiled at the Papal and French courts, Henry vented his fury on the possessions and friends of the Archbishop. These he banished to the number of four hundred; nor age nor infirmity moved the king to pity: he banished all. Further, he seized on the revenues of the archbishop, and of all those who had followed him to France; and at length, to spite the whole Cistercian order, because by one house Becket had been treated kindly in France, he declared that, if the Archbishop were thus entertained any longer,

¹ Hoveden, fol. 284.

² Hoveden and Gervase, p. 1349.

³ Annal. p. 284.

not a Cistercian should remain in England. Nay, more : he promised to follow the antipope, Guido ; and this he would have done, but for the firmness of the bishops. These and other enactments equally severe at once evinced the wickedness, the spite, and the fury of a disaffected king. Louis, in this hour of trial, in conjunction with the Pontiff and others, befriended the archbishop and his adherents. To the former, the monarch gave an invitation to reside at Sens ; whilst the latter were abundantly supplied with all necessities through the royal or pontifical favour. It was time for the archbishop to do his duty. The Church and its laws had been insulted : his was the obligation to vindicate both ; and he did what he was bound to do. He excommunicated all those who had either helped to frame the Constitutions of Clarendon, or had seized the possessions of the Church, or had leagued themselves with an antipope, in opposition to the lawful possessor of St. Peter's Chair, Alexander III.⁴ Fearful of the horrors of an interdict, the king, finding that his intrigues and bribes were insufficient to shake the fixed purpose of either the Pope or of à Becket, became reconciled to the archbishop ; the king promising to preserve the liberties of the Church, " saving the dignity of the Crown," and the prelate promising all honor to the king, " saving the dignity of the Church." Eventually the archbishop returned to Canterbury ; but it was only to meet trouble again and death. Several of the prelates, and among these the Archbishop of York, had incurred, as I have already observed, the penalty of excommunication. Becket was asked in a threatening manner to absolve the excommunicated ; but this he absolutely refused in the case of the Archbishop of

Louis, however, ever faithful to the archbishop and his friends.

Henry rec-
lents,

⁴ Epist. i, 96, 138, 140 ; and Hoveden Annals, f. 285-6.

à Becket refuses to absolve the excommunicated.

Some court minions determine on murdering the archbishop.

à Becket is killed, and the Church triumphs.

The king sadly dejected.

York, and only would assent to the demand in respect to the others under certain definite conditions. The refusal was followed by threats ; and it was evident to any friendly eye that a bloody death was to be à Becket's doom. On the twenty-eighth of December, Reginald Fitzurse, Tracy, Moreville, and Brito, arrived at Canterbury. They had whilst in Normandy heard Henry indulge in violent language against the prelate, which they construed into a wish to have him removed by violence. Wishing to please their sovereign, by oath they engaged themselves to execute this wish. On the following day they bad the archbishop absolve the excommunicated : he refused, and soon after, whilst ascending the steps leading to the choir of his cathedral, this illustrious champion of the Church of Canterbury was barbarously murdered. His last words were, " In the name of Christ, and for the defence of his Church, I am ready to die." He expired in the fifty-third year of his age. The Church recovered at once its freedom. The " Constitutions of Clarendon " were no longer spoken of ; the very word was cautiously suppressed, for it reminded men, who now honored Thomas as a saint, of the tyranny of Henry, and of his oppressions ; and he who had been so anxious to drag laymen and clergymen alike before his own court, now remitted the murderers of Becket, who were all laymen, to the judgment of the spiritual courts.¹

Henry, who had braved the censures of the Church prior to the murder, now became nervously fearful. To ward off the Papal excommunication, he sent off, after spending four days in solitude, owing to the excess of his sorrow or remorse, five messengers to Rome. At first the

¹ Guliel. Newbrig. ii, 25.

Pontiff refused to see them; but at length they were admitted to an audience. They maintained, in the most unqualified manner, their master's innocence; but submitted his case to the judgment of the Holy See, Henry, it was said, being most willing to abide by its decision. The Pontiff pronounced the sentence of excommunication against all who were either directly or indirectly implicated in the murder; and gave instructions to Theodin and Albert, his legates in France, to examine carefully the merits of the whole case. Henry expressed himself satisfied, and agreed to everything which had been proposed to his agents. The murderers repaired to Rome to sue for pardon. Abandoned by all former friends, and now marked objects of horror, the knowledge of the extent of their crimes was in a manner forced upon the unhappy men. They acknowledged their crime to the Pontiff, and by him were ordered to make a penitential pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where, as is evident from an inscription which formerly existed there, some, if not all of them, died.² Henry, afraid of the censures of the Church, had for several months felt the greatest anxiety about the proceedings of the papal legates. At last, having been informed that their decision was favourable, he repaired to France, where he swore, in the presence of the legates, bishops,

Protests his innocence,

The murderers excommunicated and detested

go to Rome, and sent to Jerusalem as pilgrims.

² There is an old saying still common, I understand, in Gloucestershire, relative to the descendants of one of the murderers, Tracy. It is this:

"The Tracys

Have always the wind in their faces."

The family was singularly unfortunate. Hoveden tells us that the murderers were buried at Jerusalem outside the Church of the Templars; and that this inscription was placed over their remains: "Hic jacent miseri qui martyrizaverunt Beatum Thomam Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem!—Fol. 299.

Henry's declarations.

Submits to several works in expiation of his guilt.

Results of the king's struggle.

barons, and people, that he was innocent of having contemplated or wished the murder of the archbishop. Since, however, in consequence of his well-known violence of language, he might have driven on the murderers to execute their bloody deed, he consented to support two hundred knights for a year for the defence of the holy land; to allow appeals to Rome; to abolish whatever customs might have been introduced opposed to the liberties of the Church, and to restore whatever had been unjustly taken away from the friends of à Becket. Thus the Constitutions of Clarendon were repealed; and Henry bound himself by oath never to re-enact them, as did also his crowned son. The king and cardinals alike affixed their seals to the solemn engagement of the English sovereign.¹ In his struggle with the Church, the king had subjected himself to years of uneasiness, and had caused his kingdom to be convulsed from end to end. He had resorted to expedients which had degraded his character in the face of the Christian world; and if not stained with blood himself, he beheld others condemned as murderers on his account. And what was the end of the struggle? Remorse and humiliation; a revocation of his acts of violence, and a sworn pledge to be hereafter the protector of the liberties of the Church, and a faithful child of the See of Rome! From the king's conduct the supremacy of Rome is as apparent as from that of the archbishop. His acknowledged inability to judge à Becket because he had appealed to a higher tribunal; his frequent appeals to the Holy See to justify his proceedings, and cause the condemnation of the archbishop; his fear of the Pontifical excommunication, and the anxiety of those who had been excommunicated to

² Gervas, col. 1422; Hoveden, f. 403.

procure absolution from the censure ; his offering to join an anti-pope in opposition to the lawful Pontiff, and his subsequent endeavours to disown this fact ; these things, as well as the promises which he made, and the satisfaction which he offered to the Roman Pontiff after the murder of the Primate, all prove the same thing : that it was an indisputable truth even with Henry that not he, but the Bishop of Rome, was the head of the Church ; that the Pontiff, and not the king, was supreme in matters spiritual. He might, like any other usurper, make demands which nothing could justify, and have recourse to violence in furtherance of these unjust demands ; he might especially endeavour to deprive the Church of every privilege which it had received from the piety or liberality of other sovereigns ; but he never urged those demands on the ground that England was independent of Rome, or that the head of the State was also head of the Church.

The Pontifical power appears throughout the whole transaction.

The martyred archbishop was solemnly canonised soon after his death. The Pontiff was induced to enrol his name in the calendar of the saints, on account of the numerous miracles which were daily performed at his tomb. Of these he writes, in his letters to the monks of Canterbury, to the prelates of England, and to the bishop of Aversa. In this latter epistle it is stated that nearly the whole world had heard of the miraculous interposition in proof of Becket's sanctity, and the names of some who had not only investigated the facts, but who had also had the happiness of being themselves witnesses to them, are distinctly given : and further, the Pontiff declares that he felt himself bound, as supreme head of the Church, and vicegerent of Peter, the prince of the apostles, to testify the extent of his veneration of the virtues of the late

Becket is canonised.

Miracles.

archbishop before the whole of Christendom.¹ Thus the Pope still claimed, as his predecessors had done, the supremacy, as successor of blessed Peter ; and heaven confirmed by signs and wonders the faith and virtues of à Becket, as previously it had borne evidence to the faith and virtues of Germanus and Augustine.

Richard receives the pall.

Richard, a Benedictine monk, and prior of a monastery at Dover, was next elected archbishop, with the consent and approbation of the sovereign. Alexander, to whom the new prelate hastened, consecrated him, and conferred on him the pall. This is distinctly stated by Reginald, bishop elect of Bath, in a letter addressed to the king, as also by Matthew of Paris, in his account of the events of the year 1174. It will readily be conjectured that at such a time as this, when the king was penitent for his former crimes, and all England was showing with the Pope honor to the defender of the liberties of the Church, and the supremacy of Rome, little opposition will be raised to the Church ; and that our history will be one continuous record in favour of the Holy See. A few facts will prove the accuracy of this supposition.

The feast of St. Thomas appointed to be kept.

1°. The Pontiff commanded all to observe the festival of St. Thomas : “ Universitatem vestram monemus et auctoritate quâ fungimur districte præcipimus, ut natalem Thomæ, martyris gloriosi, Cantuariensis olim Archiepiscopi, diem videlicet passionis ejus solemniter sub annis singulis celebretis,” &c.² At the reading of this document all the bishops and barons were present ; and a burst of applause testified their gratitude and obedience to the

¹ Quadril, l. iv, c. 15 ; as also Alford in l.

² *M. Paris, ad h. a.*

Pontiff, as well as their reverence towards the saint. 2°. He reproaches the archbishop for having neglected to comply with his wishes relative to the benediction of one of the abbots; and he commands the Bishop of Worcester to confer this blessing, by virtue of the apostolic rescript, in case the archbishop shall wish to delay any longer.³ 3°. He bids the archbishop see that the prelates mind their spiritual, and abandon merely secular and curial duties. He names those with whom he is dissatisfied in such distinct and strong language, that Richard deemed it his duty to return an immediate and justificatory answer in favour of the accused. 4°. The archbishop, being opposed to the exemptions claimed by the abbots of Canterbury and Malmesbury, wrote to the Pope a bitter letter of complaint, in which he showed the results of these exemptions; but the Pontiff, though unwilling to justify any misconduct on the part of the religious, was not disposed either to abandon his own rights, or to undo what had been wisely ordained by his predecessors, relative to certain monasteries which had been placed under the immediate protection of Rome. 5°. Alice, the daughter of Louis, who had been betrothed to Richard, Earl of Poictou, and son of Henry, being detained in England longer than had been agreed upon by the two monarchs, Alexander threatened to lay the transmarine territories of the English king under an interdict, if the articles agreed upon, were not immediately executed, and Richard was not permitted at once to marry Alice. The king went straight to his Holiness, then in France. He told him that not he, but Louis, was to blame; for the French monarch had not acted up to the articles of agreement.

Orders of the
Pope to the
Bishop, King
&c.

³ Hoveden, f. 522.

English
Bishops at
the Council
of Lateran.

Thus the Papal threat was warded off. 6°. A Council was held at the Lateran palace in March, 1179. To this Council the English prelates, as well as the other prelates of the Christian world, were summoned. Four obeyed the summons—the Bishops of Durham, Norwich, Hereford, and Bath—who were accompanied by several English abbots. As Hoveden observes, more than four were not obliged to assist at the Councils of the Church, by virtue of a privilege granted formerly by the Pontiffs.¹ 7°. In the letters, too, of this period, directed to the Holy See, every term which is calculated to convey an idea of submission and dependence is adopted. Odo and the convent of Canterbury “cast themselves at the feet of his Holiness, and beseech him, in conjunction with the whole Church in England, to confirm, by virtue of the Apostolic power and authority, the nomination of the Archbishop Richard.” The Pontiff is addressed *as Father*, and the writers are called *his children*. The Bishop of Exeter observes that “as the members derive their vigor from the head, so, after God, all Churches depend on the Roman Church for their salvation :” and King Henry, in the hour of trouble, thus writes : “God has placed you on the very height of the pastoral dignity : let England see what a Roman Pontiff can do ; and since he makes not use of material arms, let him defend with the spiritual sword the patrimony of St. Peter.”² 8°. When the Archbishop of York, trusting in the favour and power of the king, contested, in the presence of the Papal legate, the right of the Archbishop of Canterbury to sit at the legate’s right hand, he rested his claims not on any regal decree or document, but on the ori-

Mode of addressing the Pope.

¹ Hoveden, 332.

² Epist 136 apud Petrum Blessens.

ginal rescript of Pope Gregory, in which it was ordained, as we have already seen, that York and Canterbury were to have precedence according to seniority of consecration. But this must suffice. Richard died at Halling on the 16th of February, 1184,³ and was succeeded by Baldwin, who received in the following year the pall from the hands of Pope Lucius III.⁴

Pope Lucius gives the pall to Baldwin.

During the time of this prelate, much dissatisfaction existed between him and the monks of Canterbury. Anxious to weaken their authority, and to put a stop to the contests which had so often disgraced their order at the election of a new archbishop, Baldwin determined on erecting a secular college at Hackington, distant about half a mile from Canterbury, on which he intended to confer by degrees a portion at least of that power and of those privileges of which the monks of Canterbury had been so long in possession. His design was not communicated to the monks; but these guarded their rights too carefully, and were too jealous of their privileges, not to suspect the archbishop's motives. All along he had shown himself opposed to them: without cause he had removed prior after prior; and in other ways had given proofs of disaffection. Under these circumstances, the monks appealed to Rome against the conduct of the archbishop. In vain did the king go to Canterbury to induce them not to oppose Baldwin. They had, they said, appealed to Rome. Their prior was on his road to the Pontiff, and it was requisite to await the determination of Urban. The king and archbishop lost no

The monks of Canterbury appeal to Rome against Baldwin.

³ Hoveden, f. 622.

⁴ Idem, 630. Paris post-dates the reception of the pall. According to him, Baldwin received the pall from Urban. But Hoveden is a better informed writer than the monk of St. Albans.

Orders addressed to Baldwin.

His high esteem of the Holy See.

time in sending off their ambassadors too. The cause was tried at Rome, and was decided against the archbishop. After some further contestation, Baldwin was forced to pull down the college which he had begun, and restore those superiors to office whom he had deposed, on condition that the monks promised, as usual, canonical obedience to their archbishop.¹ This controversy raged during the pontificates of Lucius III, Urban III, Gregory VIII, and Celestine III.² Of Baldwin's ideas relative to Rome, the above-named facts offer abundant evidence; but in his letter of congratulation addressed to Urban III, who had just been raised to the Popedom, his language is singularly significant. He tells the Pontiff that "what the ray is to the sun, what the stream to the fountain, what the branch to the root, that the English Church is in relation to the Church of Rome." Baldwin, who had accompanied his sovereign Richard to the Holy Land, died at the siege of Acres, and was succeeded by Reginal Fitz Joceline, who died, however, before the arrival of the pall, having survived his election only forty-nine, or, as others state, fifteen days.³

Richard now wore the English crown. Before his coronation, Baldwin, the archbishop, besought him not to assume the royal dignity unless he were resolved to keep the royal oath. Richard swore that he would protect the Church and its possessions, and would faithfully maintain the customary privileges of the clergy. Whilst engaged in the Holy wars, Richard had entrusted the care of the

¹ Gervas. de disc. inter monachos et Bald. (1303-9.)

² John, Cardinal and *legate a latere*, came to put an end to the dispute; so the archbishop thought it better to settle it at once, without his interference.

³ Gervas. col. 1580; and Hoveden, f. 405.

kingdom to Longchamp, Bishop of Ely. This bishop was, in fact, head both of the Church and of the State; for the monarch had obtained for him from the Pontiff the dignity of legate of the Holy See in England and Scotland. His power procured him many enemies; and these were determined to effect his ruin. At the head of these was John, Richard's brother, who longed for the crown which his brother wore. Various charges were urged by his accusers. He had deprived, it was stated, Gerald de Camville of the shrievalty and custody of the castle of Lincoln; had dragged Geoffrey, the Archbishop of York, from the sanctuary of St. Martin's to the castle of Dover; had affected more than royal dignity, and had impoverished the nation by his exactions. The Chancellor easily vindicated his conduct;⁴ but his enemies were met to pass the sentence of condemnation, and not of approval: and so, judgment was given according to their wishes, and not in accordance with the merits of the accused. He was deprived of the Chancellorship, and cast into prison, whence, after a week's confinement, he was taken and sent into exile by order of John. Having crossed the sea, he bad his messengers hasten to the Pope and king to complain of the treatment which he had endured; and the Pontiff, Celestine III, befriended his legate by commanding the prelates to excommunicate the Earl of Morton and his party, and lay their territories under an interdict should they again seize the Chancellor, whom he reinstated in his office of legate, or in any way alter the administration settled by the king.⁵ The legate sent a copy of this instrument to Hugh of Lincoln, commanding him to put it into execution; but he did not do so, nor did any other of

The Bishop of Ely made legate, at the request of King Richard.

Charges against the Bishop.

He is deprived, but appeals to the Pope and King.

⁴ Hoveden, f. 401.

⁵ Ibid, 402.

Richard assisted in many ways, by the Bishop of Rome.

He is crowned by Archbishop Hubert.

the prelates, because the legate had not as yet complied with the requirements of the ecclesiastical law for the exercise of the legatine authority—he had not arrived in England. A still greater service was performed by the Pope in favour of the English monarch, who, on his way to his realms, was siezed by Leopold, Duke of Austria, and by him *sold* to the Emperor, Henry VI. The Pope was appealed to by the clergy and people, and Celestine at length pronounced the sentences of excommunication and interdict against Leopold, and threatened Henry with similar chastisements unless the king were liberated, and quickly too.¹ On the payment of an enormous ransom,² and a promise of further payments, Richard was set free, and at length arrived, in the midst of the loudest acclamations of welcome, within his own dominions. Hubert, who was now Archbishop of Canterbury, and invested with the pall which the Pontiff had forwarded to him,³ placed the crown which the monarch had been compelled to resign to the Emperor, on the head of his sovereign at Winchester, where the ceremony was performed with the greatest solemnity on the 17th of April, 1194. On the 2nd of the next month,⁴ Richard was again on the sea with a large army to chastise the French monarch for his aggressions and insults; and the archbishop was left, in conjunction with Longchamps, to attend to the interests of the State during the king's absence. The primate, however, soon found the offices of archbishop *and* legate—

¹ Hoveden, 410.

² The Emperor, intimidated by Celestine, remitted the sum of 17,000 marks.—Idem, 431, Gerv. 1586.

³ Hoveden, 444; Gerv. 1584.

⁴ Paris says, "*In festo Nerei et Achillei*."—In Vita Richardi, p. 147.

for the Pontiff had written letters to all the prelates to inform them of this appointment—together with that of chief justiciary, to be too onerous ; and hence he begged of the king to liberate him from his secular engagements ; but on the monarch's expressing his regret at this offer during his absence, the secular office was retained for some time longer. But the Pontiff at length forced him to abandon it. This resulted from a complaint made by the Canterbury monks. Once more they were seen in Rome urging their grievances, and endeavouring to secure their convent against possible losses. They said that the prelate was too much engaged in secular to attend to the spiritual affairs committed to his charge ; that he in various ways had violated the canons ; and that the new college at Lambeth which Baldwin had begun, and he had finished, would materially militate against the privileges which former Pontiffs had granted their order. The Pontiff ordered Hubert to resign his post of chief justiciary, and to pull down the new college. The prelate at once obeyed. This occurred in 1199.⁵ In July, 1205, this truly talented statesman and virtuous prelate died, having held his See for the space of fourteen years. King Richard, too, was dead ; and John had taken possession of the English throne, notwithstanding the prior claims of his nephew, Arthur.

The Archbishop commanded by the Pope to resign the office of Chief Justiciary.

He obeys.

Innocent III was at this time the Roman Pontiff: he was a man of the strictest virtue, the greatest talent, and in firmness superior to any sovereign of his time. His leading principle was *the maintenance of right*, and in defence of it he resolved to spend his life. When he ascended the Pontifical throne he was in the full vigour of

⁵ Paris, ad h. a. ; and Hoveden, 443.

Innocent re-
fuses to con-
secrate John
de Grey.

He appoints
Langton.

manhood : he was only in his thirty-seventh year, and thus in this respect, as in others, was more favoured than the great bulk of his predecessors. At once he entered upon his arduous duties ; and soon he beheld himself possessed of those privileges and territories which his immediate predecessors had either from weakness or from the calamities of the times, been compelled to abandon. Fully convinced of his universal supremacy, as successor of St. Peter, he resolved to exercise his power for the good of the Church, to its fullest extent ; and Sicily and Tuscany, Germany, Bulgaria and Norway, Portugal and France, as well as England, acknowledged and felt his power. John of England had sent John de Grey to Rome to receive the Archiepiscopal consecration and pall from the Pontiff. But the Pontiff would not comply with the monarch's wishes. Learning that the election of de Grey had not been canonically conducted—that in fact Reginald the sub-prior of the monks of Christchurch had been already chosen by the monks, and placed on the Archiepiscopal throne, and was on his way to Rome in order to receive the pall, the Pontiff would not attend to the royal nomination. "If," he observed, "the election of Reginald was irregular as was stated, that of de Grey was not less informal, having been made before the nullity of the former election had been declared by the Holy Sec." Innocent pronounced both elections invalid, and offered Langton for the king's selection. The Papal nominee was an Englishman and a cardinal ; a prelate as illustrious for virtue as for ability and learning, and the Pontiff did not doubt of his acceptance by the Crown. But Innocent was disappointed. The king returned no answer to the Papal letter ; accordingly after the election of Langton by the

monks of Canterbury, who still remained at the Papal Court, he was consecrated by Innocent himself on the 17th of June, 1207, at Viterbo.¹ The king indignantly refused to acknowledge the new archbishop, and wrote violent and reproachful letters to Rome to protest against the perfidy of the monks and the arbitrary conduct of the Pontiff. But the royal letters had no terrors for Innocent. He remained firm and calm, knowing well what was the uniform result of struggles with the Church. John's predecessors had one after another struggled with the Church, and repented of it: if John struggled he would have to rue his folly at leisure. The Pontiff replied, that so far from showing disrespect he had acted with unusual kindness towards the English Crown, and he commanded the monarch to receive Langton as archbishop. The king refusing to comply, the whole kingdom was laid under an interdict in 1208, the sentence being promulgated by the Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester. But an interdict had no terrors for one who cared neither for Mass nor Sacraments, and who if Paris may be credited, and other writers of that time, was willing even to exchange his Christianity for gold.² The king revenged himself on the Pope by banishing the prelates and religious, seizing on the estates of the Church, and perpetrating a thousand other acts of folly and irreligion. To bring the man to reason the sentence of excommunication was launched in the next year against him, and eventually as a last resource the subjects of John were freed from their allegiance, and Philip Augustus of France was empowered by Inno-

Royal protest against the appointment.

The Pope inflexible.

He puts the kingdom under an interdict.

¹ See Paris ad h. a. and Westminster, 266-7-8.

² Paris, p. 1044.

John is ex-
communic-
ated.

cent to seize his territories and wear the English crown : in other words, John was deposed as well as excommunicated, in 1212.¹ John saw his danger—Philip was

The depos-
ing power no
article of
faith.

¹ I need not tell the well-informed reader that the deposing power neither is nor ever was *believed* to be, like the spiritual supremacy, the inalienable and incontrovertible prerogative of the Roman Pontiff. If some few of the Popes exercised *this* power, it was under circumstances of great outward pressure: when kings had encroached on the spiritual authority, and were labouring to impede the spiritual action of the Pontiffs. When persuasions and threats had in vain been resorted to, then the exorbitant claims of kings and emperors were met by the Pontiffs with the equally exorbitant pretensions of hurling them from their thrones. Thus by a stretch of power rights which were unquestionable and inalienable were vindicated and retained. It should moreover be remembered that 1° some individuals in former ages, like Grotius in more modern times, maintained that to the Pope as representative of the people and senate of Imperial Rome belonged the right of appointing the rulers of the countries subject to Rome; 2°, it was likewise thought that this country, like many others, was *a fief* of the Holy See; 3°, and further it was very generally allowed that to the Pope, as the common Father of Christendom, should be entrusted the conservation of the welfare of all nations, and that by his decisions for the good of Christendom, all should be willing to abide. Hence it happened that in extreme cases the Pontiffs exercised a power which not Christ, but the States of Europe had placed in their hands. A little later, we shall see in the text of this work how John himself submitted this very kingdom to the Pontiff, even as other sovereigns had subjected their nations to his jurisdiction.

Grounds of
the claim.

The depositions, however, were ordinarily only *verbal*, and it would be difficult to prove that any English sovereign ever lost an acre of land in consequence of the forfeiture of his crown by virtue of a Papal Bull. Protestants have claimed and exercised this power of deposition in a more effective manner, notwithstanding their abuse of the Popes for an occasional threat. The subjects of Catholic kings knew too well the extent of their obligations to their sovereign ever to confound the spiritual claims of Rome with the temporal rights of the Crown.

Declarations
of the Uni-
versities.

If the reader would like to know how explicitly and unreservedly the deposing power is repudiated by Catholics, he may consult either the *Declarations* of the Catholic Bishops of England and Ireland, or the *Declaration of the Gallican* prelates of the year 1682, or the answers of the Universities of Paris, Douai, Louvain, Salamanca, Valladolid and Alcalá—answers

ambitious, and his own subjects were dissatisfied: should he still oppose the Pontiff the forfeiture of his crown would be the result, and that crown was as dear to him as life. The step of reconciliation with Rome must be taken; it had become a thing of necessity; and so Pandulph, who had in vain on a former occasion negotiated between the king and the Pope, was earnestly solicited to return to England, in order to settle the long pending dispute amicably. No longer had the Legate to observe, as he had formerly, "Did you not swear obedience to the Pope—did you not swear to maintain the rights of the Church at your coronation?"—no longer did John exclaim, "You say well: I grant his Holiness is my spiritual

He seeks to be reconciled to the Pope.

which were admitted as authoritative by the British government, during the agitation of the question of Catholic Emancipation.—(See the Substance of the Speech of Sir J. Cox Hipplesley on the 18th of May, 1810, with the annexed documents, published in 1810).

Every Catholic may adopt on this question the noble language of Lord Strafford on the 29th of December, 1680:—"I have no reason to be ashamed of my religion, for it teacheth nothing but the right worship of God—obedience to the king, and due subordination to the temporal laws of the kingdom And whereas it has been so much and so often objected that the Church holds that sovereign princes, excommunicated by the Pope, may by their subjects be deposed I do here on my conscience declare, that it is my true and real judgment that the same doctrine of deposing kings is contrary to the fundamental laws of this kingdom, injurious to the sovereign powers, and consequently in me would be, or in any other of his Majesty's subjects, impious and damnable!" See also the letter of the Propaganda, written by order of Pius VI to the Bishops of Ireland, dated June 23, 1791, and De la Hogue, the famous Sorbonne Doctor of Theology, in *Tract. de Ecclesia Christi*, who lays down the following proposition: "Christ has not granted to St. Peter and his successors, or to the Church, any power, direct or indirect, over the temporal concerns of kings; consequently kings cannot be deposed, even indirectly, nor can their subjects be exempted or dispensed with from their fidelity and allegiance due to their respective sovereigns, by the power of the keys (or by the exercise of any power or jurisdiction granted by Christ to the Popes, or to the Church, or to any of its members.)"

Lord Strafford's speech.

De la Hogue's statement.

Father ; that he succeeds to St. Peter's authority, and that I ought to obey him in spiritual matters ; but I cannot allow that my submission should extend so far as to affect my temporal jurisdiction ;”¹ nor did he again swear that he would hang Langton the moment he dared set foot on English ground ; for such language from the Legate was unnecessary, and such threats and exceptions had become simply ridiculous in the mouth of the monarch : he submitted to the Papal excommunication, received the archbishop, and recalled the exiled prelates to whom their possessions and privileges were to be returned. He did more. Either from a desire to convince the Pope of his sincerity, and to attach him to his interest, or from an anxiety to escape domestic troubles, he made the kingdoms of England and Ireland tributary to Rome. In the Church of the Templars he took on bended knee, in the presence of Pandulph, the oath of fealty to the Pope ; promised to be faithful to God, to blessed Peter, to the Roman Church, and to the reigning Pontiff and all his successors, and engaged to defend the patrimony of St. Peter against all men ; and all this he did (so he solemnly declared in writing) as an atonement for his sins against God and the Church. Thus Innocent, like Alexander, had the powerful monarch of England for his feudatory.² Langton and the exiled prelates soon returned, and were received with every expression of regard by the humbled monarch at Winchester : he begged their pardon with tears, and they absolved him from his censures in the cathedral. Again were the laws of King Edward sworn to, and the Church was restored to her palmyest days of freedom. The Pontiff

He submits
to his sen-
tence,

and makes
the kingdom
tributary to
Rome.

Langton re-
turns to
England.

¹ *Annales Monast. Burton*, p. 265 et seq.

² *Paris ad h. a. Annal. Burton*, p. 269.

pleased with John's submission wrote a letter of congratulation to the king, freed him from mere episcopal censure for the future, and took under his own care the royal chapel; thus freeing it from any censure of interdict under which the rest of the kingdom might be placed hereafter. Peace had been made with the Church, but there were others yet to be pacified.

And the Pope writes favourably to John.

The barons were anxious to have the secular privileges of former days restored, and they positively refused to fight for their sovereign until these privileges had been ceded. After much delay and much deliberation the king was forced to meet the disaffected barons, who were now in open rebellion, and on the plain of Runnymede the Magna Charta—the charter of English rights and liberties—was ceded to his people by the English sovereign.³ Innocent, who had been informed by John of the misconduct of the barons, had written to his legate and to the archbishop to restrain their insolence, if requisite, even by excommunication. Pandulph wished to exercise his spiritual power, but was restrained by Langton. The archbishop said that he was well acquainted with the Pope's object, and that to excommunicate under existing circumstances would not be agreeable to his wishes. The event proved that Langton was deceived. When Innocent was informed by John of what had taken place at Runnymede,⁴ and had further learnt that his wishes had not

The Magna Charta.

Displeasure of Innocent.

³ Rymer, t. 202.

⁴ The meeting of the king, and of his prelates and barons, took place on the 15th of June, 1215. Runnymede—the Mead of Council—was a meadow situated between Staines and Windsor, where formerly large assemblies had been held. Matt. West. ad ann. 1215. At recent Protestant meetings it has been usual to cite in a triumphant manner against the Catholics the words of the first article of this charter, "*The Church of*

Grounds of
his objec-
tions to the
conduct of
the Barons.

Langton sus-
pended.

John dies.

been complied with, he annulled the proceedings because the barons 1° had no right thus to treat their lord, 2° because John in consequence of having promised to join the Crusaders had privileges which the barons had not respected, and 3° because John being a feudatory of the Holy See could not, without the permission of that See, grant the charter which he had signed. He bad the barons return to their allegiance, and because they refused, commanded Langton to excommunicate them. Langton hesitating, either because his cause was too intimately connected with that of the barons, or because he was of opinion that the agents of John had deceived the Pope, was suspended from his Archiepiscopal functions, a suspension which this Pontiff, to whom Langton repaired, would never remove notwithstanding the entreaties of the archbishop and his numerous friends. If for a moment the prelate disobeyed, a life of obedience testified his virtue and regard for the Pontifical authority. The barons too were excommunicated, and London was again placed under an interdict. At length this troubled reign was brought to a close by the death of the king. Seized with the pains of death, he spent a portion of his last hours in writing a letter to the Pontiff, Honorius III, commending in the most earnest language the interests of his son to his fatherly protection. He died in the Castle of Newark,

England shall be free, and enjoy her rights and liberties inviolate." But do these declaimers know the meaning of these words, and by whom they were extorted? The words mean that kings should not meddle with the Church. They mean that the elections of the bishops should not be interfered with by the temporal power. They mean that the Pope should rule the spiritual authorities, and that the temporal power should not interfere with the exercise of this spiritual authority. This the words mean, and a good deal more to the same effect. Catholics who are jealous of the tyranny of kings extorted these words from a king.

on the 19th of October, 1216. Langton survived the king twelve years, dying in 1228; but from the moment of his suspension history records very little of him: this little may be comprised in these few words; 1° he assisted at the General Council of Lateran with other English prelates; 2° in the year 1220 he translated, with the greatest ceremony, the body of St. Thomas of Canterbury to a splendid monument which he had prepared for its reception; and 3° he endeavoured, but in vain, to procure for the Pontiff—Honorius had wished him to make the request—some pecuniary benefits derivable from two prebends out of every cathedral, and the allowance of two marks in every monastery, the sums varying according to the value of the stalls or the abbey. He died in the year named at Slindon in Essex, and was buried in the chapel of St. Michael, at Canterbury.¹

Langton
zealous for
the interests
of the Holy
See.

The monks of Canterbury chose for Stephen's successor Walter de Hemesham, a man unworthy of the cowl on account of the irregularities of his life, and unfitted for any dignity in the Church, in consequence of his gross ignorance. The king and prelates were indignant at the nomination: the latter, among other reasons, because they had not been allowed a voice in the election, and because Hemesham had been proved guilty of violating a virgin consecrated to God: the former, because Walter had been the open enemy of his father John, and what was more, was the son of a man who had been led to the gibbet for

¹ Langton was looked upon as a good scholar, *quo non erat major in curia* (Pontif), imò nec ei par in moribus et scientia. Paris, ad ann. 1207. He is said to have been the first to divide the Bible into chapters.—See Godwin de Præs. Ang. in Verbo; also Grey, &c. on the Bible. Others, however, maintain the claims of Cardinal Hugo.

Messengers
sent to
Rome to pro-
test against
the appoint-
ment of
Hemesham.

Gregory
grants their
prayer.

Wethers-
head's appeal
to the Pope.

the crime of theft. On hearing that the archbishop elect was on his way to Rome, both king and prelates dispatched messengers to the Pontiff to entreat him not to allow such a man to disgrace the illustrious See of Canterbury. The Pope complied with the request, and in the place of Hemesham, the Chancellor of Lincoln Richard Wethershead, was elected. The letter of Gregory sent to the suffragans of Canterbury on this occasion is deserving of notice. In the first place he claims, as his predecessors had all along done, the plenitude of ecclesiastical power by virtue of which his was a solicitude for all the Churches ;¹ 2° he calls the Metropolitan See of Canterbury a most noble member of the Apostolical See,² the See of Rome, the mother of all Churches ;³ and 3° he annuls the election of the monks of Canterbury, and by his own authority appoints Richard to be their pastor and archbishop.⁴ Wethershead was consecrated on the feast of the Holy Trinity, 1299 ; but he did not long possess the honours of his dignity, for he died in the convent of the Friars Minors at St. Gemma, on his way from Rome, on the 6th of August, 1231. Like many of his predecessors, he had repaired to Rome to complain of the seizure of the temporalities of his See, at Tunbridge, by Hubert, the Earl of Kent, for which no redress could be obtained from the sovereign. The royal messengers endeavoured to induce the Pontiff to decide the cause in their favour, but Gregory IX was not to be gained over by bribery or

¹ "Ex concessa nobis a domino . . . plenitudine ecclesiasticæ potestatis."

² "Nobilissimum sedis Apostolicæ membrum."

³ "Mater Ecclesiarum, Apostolica sedis."

⁴ Cassamus et præficimus.—*See Greg. Epist. apud Matt. Paris, p. 300, ad h. l.*

persuasion: Wethershead had been injured, and in his favour the sentence of Rome was pronounced. The archbishop, however, dying on his road homewards, the evils complained of were unredressed;⁵ and thus trouble was ready to meet the new archbishop on the very day of his appointment. To draw attention again to the fact of the universal and unmistakable acknowledgment of the authority of the Holy See; to say that kings, prelates, and peoples willingly and in numerous ways admitted it; to refer at length to the appeals to and decisions of Rome; to beg the reader to notice the letters sent from the sovereign to the Pontiff, and from the Pontiff to the Sovereign, would indeed be a work of supererogation. Facts speak for themselves: and these facts prove that Henry III and the prelates of England, in the thirteenth century, admitted the authority of Rome as fully as Augustine himself, the immediate messenger from Rome to England in the sixth century.

Edmund, treasurer and prebendary of Sarum, was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, by Roger Bishop of London, on the 2nd of April, 1234, in the presence of King Henry and thirteen prelates. His election was the result of the expressed wish of the Pope, who had rejected three others who had been offered for his approval, namely, Ralph Nevil, Bishop of Chichester, John Prior of Canterbury, and Richard Blond, a distinguished divine of Oxford. Ralph was rejected on the grounds of his too great subserviency to the court, his want of learning and quickness of temper:⁶ the Prior of Canterbury was told that he was too old, and had better decline the responsibilities of the primacy; and the old man seemed willing enough to

Its success.

Edmund
chosen
Archbishop.

⁵ M. Paris, p. 312, ad h. l.

⁶ Ibid. ad h. a.

He receives
the pall.

believe the Pope, and follow his advice : and Blond was set aside because he was a pluralist, and was suspected of simony. To Edmund, who was well known and esteemed, the pall was given by the Papal Envoy, Simon de Legro ; and the appointment seems to have been highly agreeable both to the court and the bishops, notwithstanding the mortifying opposition of Rome to the recent English nominations. The Archiepiscopal dignity proved, however, a source of trouble to Edmund. The times required a stern and fearless character, and our prelate was neither : he was gentle by nature, and timid almost to a fault. Of the secular clergy, numbers at this time were unworthy of their character ; the monks at Canterbury were turbulent and unruly ; the king, too, was often found interfering with the liberties of the monasteries and cathedral chapters ; and to add discontent to discontent the pecuniary demands and exactions of the Holy See, and presentation to livings in opposition to those who had long exercised this right, tended to fret the public mind. Edmund was not the man to struggle against this stream of difficulties. Once he crossed the sea to consult his Holiness and obtain redress ; and often by letters he, as also the lords, complained of the Papal legate's exactions ; but all was to no purpose. And so, troubled at the sight of disorders which he was unable to redress, he left his See and his country to seek peace in the solitude of Pontigny, in imitation of his martyred predecessor, St. Thomas à Becket. His death occurred at Soissy in 1240, and his canonization followed in 1246, during the Pontificate of Innocent IV.¹ During Edmund's administration Otho—such was the name of the Legate—convened several Councils

He leaves
England in
disgust.

¹ Brit. Sancta ii, p. 284.

at the command of the Pope, and at the desire of the king, by whom the Legate was so much beloved that his very footsteps were adored by him, to use the exaggerated language of Matthew of Paris. To these councils royal representatives were uniformly sent, and the enactments in favour of the discipline or liberties of the Church were willingly assented to by the monarch.

The queen's uncle, Boniface, son of Peter Earl of Savoy, was next chosen to the See of Canterbury: a man grossly ignorant and altogether unworthy of the Episcopate. On him, to please his queen, Henry fixed; and he spared no pains to secure his election. With his own hands a document was drawn up, in which the good qualities of his relative were loudly extolled, and this was sent to those high in power in various parts of the kingdom, in order to receive their signatures. To this document was appended, to give it still greater weight, the royal seal. It was delivered by Boniface to Innocent, by whom the king's nominee was consecrated in 1245, at Lyons, whither the Pontiff had repaired to hold the general Council, called after the name of the Southern French capital. The Enthronization of the Archbishop, which was delayed till the feast of All Saints, 1249, was honoured by the presence of the king and queen, and conducted with the greatest pomp. To describe the unworthy conduct of this prelate would be an unpleasant and unprofitable task. Unfit at his election for the dignity to which he was raised, he disgraced it by his after vices. He lorded it over the clergy; obtained privileges from Rome, under the ostensible plea of enforcing the observance of the canons, but with the real object of personal aggrandizement; and when foiled in this design by the threat of excommunication and

Boniface
named to
Canterbury.

Endeavours
of the King
to secure the
Pontifical
approbation.

the terrors of armed bands, he still pursued his unholy course, and prosecuted his pre-conceived object by having recourse to other means and other agencies. Yet even this man helps to fill up the page of ecclesiastical history, and during his presidency is continued the lengthened chain of evidence in proof of the authority of the Holy See, and the dependence of England on Rome. By him frequent appeals were made to Rome,¹ as well as by those who had to suffer from his exactions, injustice, and tyranny. 1°. The Chapter of St. Paul's and next the Bishop of Rochester sent letters of complaint to the Pope, in consequence of which the archbishop was summoned to Rome, there in person to justify his proceedings if he could, and if he could not to receive the chastisement he merited. 2°. Two Synods were convened by this prelate, one at Merton and the other at Lambeth. The acts were intended to root the Church more firmly than ever in her possessions, and were forwarded to Rome to be confirmed by the authority of the Holy See. This is distinctly stated in a letter from Pope Urban, written in 1263, to Henry III, who had sent a letter to Rome two years previously, dated October 23, 1261, to complain of Boniface and his suffragans passing decrees prejudicial to the interests of the crown, and which consequently the king was anxious to see repealed or altogether annulled by his Holiness. The Pope tells the king that the acts had been forwarded to him, that in themselves they were commendable, and as such the bishops had requested his confirmation of them; but since the king objects to them, he promises not to sanction them by his approval.² 3°. The king

Appeals at
this period.

Acts of the
Synod of
Lambeth
forwarded to
Rome.

¹ *Paris 677, et alibi passim.*

² *Conventiones, litteræ, &c., t. i, p. 755.*

who had vowed to go to the holy wars, obtained, for just causes, a dispensation from this promise from his Holiness. 4°. The real or imaginary grievances resultant from the disposal of benefices to the Italian prelates by his Holiness, and the demands of money made by the papal court, caused a frequent interchange of letters between England and Rome—archbishops and bishops, and the universities, as well as the royal party, entering warmly into the disputes on these heads during the lengthened reign of our third Henry. But in all these letters there are the clearest expressions, and the most emphatic admissions of the primacy of Rome. The suffragans of Canterbury declare, “that they kiss the blessed feet of his Holiness; and further, they remind the Pope of the fervour of Anglican faith, and of the zeal and devotedness of this kingdom towards the Holy See.”³ Nor were the English abbots of this period less explicit. They, too, throw themselves at the Pontiff’s feet, and declare that Christ committed his Church to one head pastor and father: this pastor and father is the Pope; and they are the faithful children of the holy Roman Church.³ Similar is the language of the barons, nobles, clergy, and people. They address the Pontiff in the character of *children*, and offer him all the honor and respect due to him on so many accounts. He is the Chariot of Israel and the Charioteer, and to him they appeal, because they are needy and in trouble. They tell him of the scandals caused by the

Respectful
language of
England to-
wards the
Pope.

³ “Oscula pedum beatorum . . . fidei Anglicanæ fervorem attendentes et quod idem regnum Sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ SPECIALITER extiterit devotum.”—*M. Paris*, p. 611, 2.

⁴ “Cum igitur simus Sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ filii fideles et devoti.”—*M. Paris*, l. c.

The language of the King to the Pope.

Pontifical exactions, and of the steps which, but for their reverence towards the Holy See, they would have taken to redress these grievances; and to induce the Pope to insist upon the observance of more equitable conduct for the future, they forewarn him of the evils which will probably result from a continuance of past irregularities—evils which, they observe, it would be far easier to prevent than afterwards to remedy.¹ The king likewise declares the Roman Church to be the mother, which he loves, and to which he flies, as a son to a mother, with confidence. After this declaration, the Pontiff is distinctly informed of the complaints of the English nobles, and of the necessity of putting a speedy termination to these complaints; and the king begs of the Pontiff to do so out of love to him and them, and even to the Church of Rome itself.² He goes further. When some of the prelates were prevented from obeying the pontifical order to hasten to Lyons to assist at the Council there, Henry took the trouble to write a detailed account of the various obstacles which prevented the bishops compliance.

Grosstete.

Were we to view at any given year the whole of England, we should be literally overpowered by the mass of evidence offered by every portion of the kingdom to the supremacy of the Holy See. At this period we have a striking instance in the person of Grosstete, the distinguished bishop of Lincoln. He was not more remarkable for learning and virtue than for an ardent zeal for the head of the Church, to whom he conceded, not only the

¹ "Ob debitam tanto Pontifici in omnibus reverentiam....ob Apostolicæ sedis reverentiam....Idcirco pater reverende, currus Israel et auriga ejus, ad asylum vestræ pietatis currimus confidenter."—Paris, 613.

² See *Latin text in M. Paris*, l. c.

supremacy of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but also a power—at the least, an indirect power—over kingdoms and states in connexion with matters of a temporal character. The Pope, he argued, holds the place of Christ—he is Christ's vicegerent: as Christ's vicegerent, he is to be obeyed by all, where he vindicates the cause of religion and of God. If then temporal sovereigns, in the government of their states, oppose God and his Church, his is the task to interfere, and theirs is the obligation to listen to his warnings. Still with these notions he could oppose Pontiffs. Obedience had its limits: the limits, indeed, are distinctly marked in the preceding observations. Face to face he reproached Innocent for mismanagement; and when bid to promote that pontiff's nephew to a prebendal stall at Lincoln, Grosstete absolutely refused; he refused because such a provision was evidently opposed to the interest of the Church. Instead of excommunicating Grosstete, as Matthew of Paris pretends, Innocent acknowledged his fault, and promised to reform the abuses which a zealous prelate like him of Lincoln had denounced.³

His opinion relative to the Pontiff's power over temporals.

His firmness.

Kilwarby, the friend and confessor of St. Thomas de Cantelupe, was next raised to the See of Canterbury, on account of his extraordinary learning and singular virtues, in 1272.⁴ Challenden had been named, and sent to Rome to receive the episcopal consecration by the monks of Canterbury, whose prior he had long been; but he was set aside, as many other archbishops elect had been by the

Kilwarby Archbishop.

³ *Annales Burton*, 328, &c. When Henry wished to stop the gathering of the Papal tax, and again, to refuse the temporalities of Winchester to a prelate named by the Holy See, he was severely reprehended by Grosstete, who told that king that obedience to the Pontiff was an obligation.—*App. Fascic rerum*, &c. ii, 244.

⁴ *Anglia Sac.* par. i, p. 116.

Made Cardinal,

Succeeded by Peckham.

The character of the Franciscans, whose Superior Peckham had been.

Roman pontiff, to give way to Kilwarby. By Gregory X the new prelate was honored with the pall; but being eventually raised to the Cardinalitial dignity, he resigned the archbishopric, and went to reside at Rome. During his residence at Canterbury, the famous Council of Lyons, at which several English prelates assisted, and which had the gratifying result of re-uniting, for a time at least, the Greek to the Latin Church, was celebrated. By him moneys were raised for carrying on the holy wars at the request of the Pope; and Llewellyn, prince of Wales, was excommunicated for revolting against his lawful sovereign, Edward I. When Kilwarby resigned his See, Burnell, Bishop of Bath, a prelate of considerable worth, and one in whom Edward placed the greatest confidence as a wise and faithful agent, was unanimously chosen by the monks; but the appointment did not meet with the approbation of the Pope, and so he again exercised his power over the highest See in England by naming Peckham to the vacant See, who was consecrated at Rome on Midlent Sunday, 1279. Used to the hard and penitential life of a Franciscan (he had succeeded Kilwarby in the office of provincial of a portion of that order), he was well suited to act a firm part in difficult emergencies. At the time of the English Reformation, the Franciscans mainly braved the royal threats: "Threaten," they exclaimed, with a smile, "threaten the nice, and the delicate, and the pampered, and the lovers of the world: for us, who lead a dying life, your threats have no terrors." So it was with the superior of the order who was now seated in the southern metropolitan See. The king, Edward, on several occasions strove to infringe the liberties of the Church; but as often he was restrained by the vigor and fearlessness of the archbishop. Again and

again the court came to the determination to banish this intrepid maintainer of right ; but after all, none were so bold as to attempt to carry out such a resolution ; and so Peckham preserved the English Church in all its integrity. And not only did he take care of the temporal interests of his See, he was the zealous defender of the faith, and of the pastor who governed the entire flock. Four times a-year each minister to whom had been committed the cure of souls was bound to explain the leading article of faith ; the meaning of the commandments of God¹ ; the virtues which were most deserving of man's attention ; and the vices which were principally to be avoided. The means of grace, too, were to be developed : the sacraments were to be explained, especially those five which were common to all ; namely, Baptism, Confirmation, the holy Eucharist, Penance, and Extreme Unction. The other two were likewise to be expounded, namely, Matrimony and Holy Orders ; but the five named were mainly to engage the pastors' attention.² Pluralists were the objects of his unceasing opposition ; nothing could induce him to tolerate or further the ends of such a class of men. Hence when More and Kirkey, chaplains to the king, had been named to the vacant Sees of Winchester and Litchfield, he positively refused to consecrate either. In vain did they appeal to the Pope : the archbishop was firm, and Rome helped him in putting down the men who possessed the emoluments of livings which they did not, could not,

Regulations
for the
Church in
England.

Peckham's
zeal and
firmness.

¹ It may be worthy of notice that Peckham's division of the commandments is the same as that of the Catholics now a days : 3, regard God ; and 7, our neighbour. See the decrees of the Synod of Lambeth, *a.d.* 1281, *apud Westminster, ad. h. a.*

² *Ibid.* A belief in the *seven* Sacraments was at this, and indeed in every previous period, universal in England.

serve. If towards the higher clergy, even royal favourites, he thus *acted*, it will be readily inferred that he would not tolerate crying disorders in others: he laboured to suppress pluralism everywhere where it was said to exist. Nor did non-residents receive more lenient treatment. They were compelled to comply with the ordinances of the canons, of which the slightest violation was severely punished. Crime, whether committed by clergymen or laymen, was condemned in the most formal manner; and during his visitatorial progress through England, the state of morals was nicely examined into by the archbishop. A clergyman of the diocese of Chichester was punished for three years, and the profits of his living given to the poor, for criminal misconduct; and Sir Osmund Gifford, for the crime of carrying away from the convent of Wilton two nuns, was excommunicated; and ere the excommunication was removed, the licentious knight consented to be publicly scourged in the market-place and parish church of Shaftesbury, to fast for a considerable time, forfeit the distinctives of a gentleman, and go in pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

Gifford
excommunicated.

Whilst Peckham was archbishop Martin IV succeeded to the See of St. Peter. On his appointment he wrote to Edward to inform him of the important fact, and besought him to be zealous in the cause of justice and religion.² Two years later the Pontiff wrote another letter: it was written to reproach the king with having defrauded the Holy See of moneys which had been collected from the clergy to enable the Pontiff to regain the Holy Land. Satisfaction was demanded, and a threat uttered of direct-

Letters of
Martin IV
to Edward.

¹ Ex Regist. Peckham apud Antiq. Brit. p. 197.

² Conventiones, &c. ii, 167—9.

ing the censures of the Holy See against both the king and his dominions unless restitution were made within one month after the receipt of the Papal letter. The Pontiff commanded Peckham to deliver this disagreeable document; and he complied.³ The result was a promise to restore the moneys within the time named, and never more to seize on such grants made to the Holy See.⁴ Later, Edward finding himself in want of pecuniary means, wrote to the Pope, asking him to grant him a tenth of the Church property in England for the purpose of conducting the wars in the Holy Land, for the space of five years. Honorius IV replied by stating that the request was perfectly inadmissible; it might establish a bad precedent, and assuredly it would injure the clergy. The request was firmly but politely negatived. To one more fact only connected immediately with the period of the administration of Peckham will I direct the reader's attention. This fact regards the appeal made to Rome by the prelate of Hereford, St. Thomas, against his archbishop. Peckham, from ignorance doubtless, for a worse motive cannot be supposed, had invaded the privileges and possessions of the church of Hereford. He claimed for Canterbury what the prelate of Hereford knew to be strictly due to his own See. But Peckham would not be convinced: he insisted on the bishop's abandonment of his claims and the acknowledgments of the claims of Canterbury. But de Cantelupe absolutely refused: he said that the "demands of the archbishop could not be acceded to; he had received the property claimed from his predecessors,—it had been

Honorius
refuses to
grant a
tenth of the
Church
property to
the king.

De Cante-
lupe appeals
to Rome,

³ Antiq. Brit. in Peckham, ex registro ejusd. See, too, Godwin *Præsules Anglie*.

⁴ *Ibid.* 196

and gains
his cause.

Real
grounds of
opposition
to Papal
provisions.

handed over to him as the property of the See, and as such he was bound to guard it against the violence or aggression of any man." Such was his answer to Peckham; and when this answer was found insufficient, "then he exclaimed I appeal from the injustice of Peckham to the justice of the Holy See." Accordingly, at an advanced age, Thomas left Hereford, crossed the Alps, reached the City of the Pontiff, there exposed his cause, and obtained a favourable verdict. Thus the system of appeals existed in numerous forms: Rome was the See appealed to by men of every country: by her decisions all abided: kings and emperors, archbishops and bishops, prelates and nobles of every degree. As we have had occasion to observe, our monarchs as well as the bishops of the English Church, frequently remonstrated with Rome for conferring sees and benefices on foreigners who neither understood the language of the country nor resided in the parishes whence were derived their large, sometimes princely incomes, as also for extracting monies on so many pretexts from bishoprics and the richer benefices. To these remonstrances attention was occasionally paid, and the abuses complained of were mitigated considerably, for a time at least. But too often the conduct of the royal reclaimants proved distinctly that these remonstrances were not wholly disinterested. They had not complained, as they affected to do, from a zeal for religion, or from an unwillingness to see the English Church deprived of its possessions: other influences were in play, and these influences proved in the result to be more fatal to the Church than the demands of the Pontiff, or the system so loudly complained of, of Papal provisions. On merely secular pleas, the pleas of war or poverty, the Church was stripped, and remon-

strant prelates had to rue the day on which they had deprived Rome in some degree of the guardianship of the secular possessions of their Churches, and placed it in the hands of English laymen. Edward I, who had become enamoured of the possessions of the Church, found in Peckham's successor, Robert Winchelsy, who had received the Archiepiscopal pall from Boniface VIII in 1294, a firm and inflexible defender of the ecclesiastical possessions. He heeded no one, when right was on his side : on such occasions he made as little account of the wishes of a king, as of the king's meanest subject. He as sternly vindicated the temporalities of the Church in the reign of the first Edward, as he reproved vice in the persons of Piers Gaveston and Spencer in the reign of Edward II. The king might threaten ; he might drive him into exile ; but force him to act against his conscience, that he could not do. Throughout his struggle one thing cheered him ; Rome and right were on his side. The position of the Archbishop of Canterbury was at all times one of extreme difficulty ; for on the one hand that prelate was responsible to the Pontiff for every deflection from ecclesiastical discipline on the part of the English Church, and for every act opposed to the wishes of his Holiness ; and on the other hand he had a king to please whose regal interests often clashed with the spiritual ones of the Church. To please the Pontiff without displeasing the king, or to retain the favour of the sovereign without forfeiting that of the Pontiff, was always difficult and oftentimes impossible. This we have already seen to be the case in numerous instances, and the future history of the Church will place before us still more striking proofs in point. Interdicts and excommunications, imprudence on the part

Character of
Winchelsy.

The diffi-
culty of his
position.

of the legates, and occasional rapacity on the part of the Papal agents, who went beyond their commission, as well as the violence and defiance of the baronial or court party, and the pandering of too many of the higher clergy to the wishes of unworthy opponents of the liberties of the Church, had slackened the reins of ecclesiastical government, and fretted the minds of both the clergy and the laity. During the presidency of Winchelsy another cause of disturbance both for Church and State, and of difficulty for the Primate, arose. The Scotch, anxious to shake off their dependence on the English crown, appealed to the Pontiff, to whose equity they committed, they said, their case, in the year 1298. They told the Pontiff that even in temporals their kingdom was subject to him; and they besought him, as their common lord,¹ to whom England was feudatory as well as Scotland, to interfere in their behalf with Edward. Boniface yielded to the request, and in a letter to the king begged of him to prosecute his claim, if he fancied he had a claim to the Scottish crown, before the Roman Court; and further informed him that he reserved to himself the power of deciding the questions then pending between the two crowns. This letter the Pope forwarded to the archbishop, and he commanded him, under the pain of suspension, to present it to the king; which was done accordingly, though the task was certainly very disagreeable, not to say fraught with danger to the prelate. The answer to Boniface was prepared with

The Scotch claim independence, and appeal to Rome.

Letter of Boniface to the English king.

¹ Regnum Scotiæ præcipuum et peculiare allodium Ecclesiæ Romanæ ... in temporalibus immediate subditur Ecclesiæ Romanæ.—Fordun xi, 51. Rome had long known of this acknowledgment, for when the English monarch asked Nicholas IV, eight years previously, to confirm his claim to Scotland, the Pope replied that he would not, for thus the rightful claim of the Holy See to Scotland would be abandoned.

the greatest care. A parliament was convened for this end at Lincoln, to which six civilians repaired, and the monasteries were ransacked in search of documents bearing on the important question in dispute. The reply was signed by one hundred and four earls and barons. I shall lay before the reader the letter of the nobles, not only on account of its own importance, but also in proof of the distinction which is here so clearly drawn between the two powers—the temporal and spiritual.

“To our most holy Father in Christ, Lord Boniface, by divine Providence Chief Bishop of the Roman Church, his obedient sons send greeting. The reply to the Papal letter.

“We firmly believe that our holy Mother the Church of Rome, by whose administration the Catholic faith is guarded and maintained, proceeds upon mature deliberation in her resolutions; takes care not to prejudice any person, and is no less solicitous for the preservation of the rights of other people than of her own.

“Being assembled in parliament at Lincoln, our sovereign lord the king ordered your Holiness’ letter relating to the kingdom of Scotland to be read to us, which when we had thoroughly weighed and examined, we were extremely shocked at the contents, these being altogether new and unprecedented. It is well known, holy Father, both in England and elsewhere, that from the Britons and Saxons down to the present times, the kings of England have had direct dominion over the kingdom of Scotland, and been possessed of that sovereignty through all the successive periods above mentioned.

“The kingdom of Scotland neither did, nor does belong in temporals² by any right whatsoever to the Church of

² The Scotchmen, however, thought differently, as we have seen in a previous note.

Arguments
used against
the Pope's
claim to the
kingdom of
Scotland.

Rome.¹ Nay more, the said kingdom of Scotland has long been feudatory to the English crown; nor have the kings of England ever pleaded or been bound to plead in regard of their rights in the kingdom of Scotland, or any other *temporal* rights, before any judge, ecclesiastical or secular, in consequence of the pre-eminence of the state of the regal dignity and of a custom at all times sacredly observed. It is therefore, and by the grace of God always shall be, our common and unanimous resolve, that with respect to the rights of his kingdom of Scotland, or other his temporal rights, our aforesaid king shall not plead before you, nor submit in any manner to your judgment, nor suffer his right to be brought into question by any enquiry, nor send agents or procurators for that purpose to your court; for such proceedings would be to the manifest disherison of the rights of the crown of England and the royal dignity, the evident subversion of the state of the kingdom and the prejudice of the liberties, customs and laws which we have inherited from our fathers, to the observance and defence of which we are bound by our oaths, and which we will maintain to the best of our power, and by the assistance of God will defend with all our might. Neither do we nor will we permit, as we neither can nor ought, our aforesaid lord the king to do, or attempt to do, even if he wished it, any of the things aforesaid, things which were never heard of or claimed before, and which are so prejudicial to this realm.”² Edward too wrote to Boniface, not as to a judge in this purely temporal question, but as to a friend. The first part of this

¹ “Nec ullis temporibus ipsum regnum in temporabilis pertinuit vel pertinet quovis jure, ad ecclesiam vestram superdictam.”—Walsing. 85.

² Walsing. 85, and West. 437—444.

document is too fabulous to merit transcription ; in the close of it the king enters on the domain of history. From the history of the Saxon and Norman periods he collects every proof which to him seems to bear upon the question of the dependence of Scotland on the English crown, and then as if his proofs were irrefragable, declares the allegations of the Scottish party to be unfounded and false. Perhaps the general reader, or one less interested than a king in establishing a claim to a crown, will not feel that conviction from the perusal of the proofs adduced by Edward, which the monarch who adduced them felt, or at least affected to feel.³ Boniface's reply was at least as historically accurate as the king's. He tears the pages of fable to atoms, and endeavours to show that the more modern and historical proofs adduced by the king will not bear investigation. From the examination of evidence, the Pontiff proceeds to assign what to him appeared the real motives of Edward's unwillingness to allow the cause to be tried before the Papal court, namely, his conviction that his claim will not bear investigation. He adds, that it is a fact that Scotland is the property of the Holy See ; that the temporal as well as the spiritual rights of Rome had been uniformly admitted from the period of its conversion to Christianity, and he appeals to the donation of Constantine of all the islands of the West to the Pontiffs in favour of his, the Pontiff's, present claim.⁴ Need the reader be informed that neither the declarations of the Scotch nor the donations of Constantine induced the English monarch to abandon his claim? One result, however, followed—displeasure against the Pope.

Edward's letter to the Pope : its character.

Boniface's reply : he still claims Scotland.

Result of this correspondence.

³ See the document in Rymer ii, 883—888, and ll. cc.

⁴ Fordun xi, 46—63.

But if the king vindicated his temporal rights, the Pontiff was not slow in guarding the spiritual ones of the Church. Nicholas IV had granted for the space of six years the tenths of all the ecclesiastical benefices to the crown, to enable the king to enter on the crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land. This grant was sadly abused ; accordingly Boniface, at the request of the clergy, issued

Abuse of the
grant made
by Pope
Nicholas.

It is revoked
by Boniface,

another bull strictly inhibiting, except under certain specific circumstances, the clergy from granting, without express leave from Rome, any portion of the ecclesiastical revenues to laymen, and this inhibition was guarded by the terrors of excommunication.¹ In consequence of this

and refused
accordingly
by the
clergy.

bull, the clergy refused to comply with the royal commands relative to the tenths ; and in answer to the commissioners who insisted on the compliance of the clergy, the archbishop returned the following reply :—

“ You know, gentlemen, that under God we have two lords, the one spiritual the other temporal. Obedience is due to both, but especially to the spiritual. We are willing to do everything in our power, and will send deputies at our own expense to consult the Pontiff. Carry to the king, we beseech you, this answer ; for we dare not speak to him ourselves.” For this reply all the prelates, but especially the archbishop, had to feel the weight of the royal displeasure. But this displeasure quickly passed.²

Edward's
displeasure.

Emboldened by his successes, Edward trampled on the rights of the people to such an extent, that their loyalty and the throne were equally perilled. When nearly too late, the monarch saw his mistake. To save himself from ruin he restored the archbishop to favour, gave back to

¹ Conventiones, &c., ii, p. 706.—See likewise West. ad ann. 1296.

² Westmins. ad ann. 1296.

the clergy their possessions, and at the entrance of the hall of Westminster publicly apologized for his exactions.³ His plea was that of every tyrant—*necessity*. At length as a security against future mismanagement, he signed a charter, in which he granted “to the clergy and laity their laws, liberties, and free customs, as freely and entirely as at any even the most favourable period, and annulled all acts and laws opposed to this written declaration.” This act was signed on the fifth of November, 1297. But Edward never *really* pardoned any one whom he had begun to dislike: hence the archbishop was the object at first of his secret hate, and afterwards of open hostility. On some futile pretext he was accused to the Pontiff by Edward of treason,⁴ and in consequence was provisionally suspended and summoned to plead before the Pontiff’s court. On the death of Edward he returned to his See in the midst of the rapturous acclamations of a people whose cause he had so nobly served. After another struggle with Edward II in defence of the canons passed against pluralists, this truly great prelate died on the 11th of May, 1313, and was buried in the cathedral of Canterbury.⁵ After nine months, the vacant See was filled by Walter Reynolds, Bishop of Worcester; the monk’s nominee, Cobham Dean of Salisbury, being set aside by the Pontiff, at the express wish of the king.⁶ Reynolds received the pall in 1314, and in the year following was solemnly enthroned. If ever prelate was favoured by the Holy See, that prelate was Reynolds. From Clement he re-

He pretends to regret his angry conduct.

His revenge on the archbishop.

Reynolds made archbishop.

³ Westmin. ann. 1297.

⁴ Idem. 1305.

⁵ Angl. Sac. pars. i, p. 11 ad 17; Godwin, &c. *in loco*.

⁶ Ang. Sac. pars. i, 117, and Godwin in l.

Clement's
fondness for
Reynolds,

and favours.

ceived no fewer than eight distinct bulls, each of which conferred on him great privileges—privileges which it would have been better for the Church if they had never been granted. Why Reynolds asked for, and Clement conferred these papal instruments of privilege is only a matter of conjecture ; it is supposed, however, that the archbishop thus hoped to escape the difficulties by which his predecessors had been often harassed, and sometimes nearly overpowered. 1°. His visitatorial powers—the jurisdiction of the ordinaries being temporarily suspended—were considerably enlarged ; 2° he was permitted to visit places otherwise exempted, and 3° to dispense with the canons in regard of pluralities and age, and absolve those whose crimes were reserved to the Holy See : these and several extraordinary grants were conferred and acted on.

The Pope
suppresses
some bishoprics
in
Ireland.

This was a troubled reign. A king the dupe of favourites, and cursed with a faithless wife, could hardly expect peace or happiness. Trouble, deprivation, and a violent death were Edward's portion. Still we have even at this period proofs enough of the Papal supremacy ; proofs very plain and very significative. They are easily gathered both from the ecclesiastical and civil records of the times. 1°. The king believing that the bishoprics in Ireland were either too numerous or some of them too poor, wrote to his Holiness to suppress some of the smaller ones. What was the result of the application we do not know ; it would seem, however, that the Pontiff did accede to the royal wish to some extent, for about six years afterwards Edward III observes, in a letter to the Pope, that it had been reported to him that his Holiness had annexed the See of Enagdun, and two other smaller

bishoprics, to the See of Tuam, and that in consequence that archbishopric had usurped the prerogative royal and the rights of the chapter of Enagdun, against which he begs his Holiness to provide a remedy.¹ Further, the king addressed another letter to the Pope, beseeching him to confirm the bull of Pope Honorius IV, by virtue of which the abbey church of Westminster was exempted from episcopal jurisdiction, and subjected to the See of Rome alone.² About the year 1311 a Synod was held in obedience to a command of his Holiness, to examine the truth of the allegations against the Knights Templars, and Greensfield of York and Baldok of London were specially commissioned by the Holy See to conduct the examination.³ When the order was condemned by Clement, in England as elsewhere, it was suppressed: the Pontifical mandate being immediately complied with. In 1316 was passed the famous statute called *Articuli Cleri*. Its object was to prevent the encroachments of the temporal courts, and all improper interference in the affairs of the Church.⁴ If in matters of a spiritual character the spiritual supremacy of Rome is ever manifest, it is not less apparent frequently in the history of civil transactions. Edward I had to carry the terrors of war into the Scottish territories, in order to quell the growing impatience of that people of the English yoke; and his son Edward II had recourse to similar measures to keep down the spirit of rebellion among the Irish. These, emboldened by the success of the Scots at Bannockburn, and encouraged by

The king asks the Pope to confirm the decree of Honorius.

The Templars suppressed by order of Clement.

¹ *Convent.* iv, 418.

² *Ibid.*

³ For the result of this examination see Stubb's *Acta Pontif. Eboracen.* apud 10 *Scrip.* col. 1730.

⁴ For details see Collier iii, 11, &c., *Ecclesiastical History*.

the presence and exhortations of the victorious leader of the Scottish clans—Bruce—who had landed at Carrickfergus at the head of six thousand men, resolved to renounce all subjection to the English. Bruce was proclaimed King of Ireland; the “hereditary monarch of Ireland,” such was the title of O’Niel, himself recommending the victor at Bannockburn to the Irish throne.

The Pope is requested by the king to excommunicate the Irish rebels.

The flame of patriotism was fanned by the clergy even after their countrymen had sustained the most overwhelming defeat; and in consequence of this the English monarch appealed—in the hour of trial it was usual and useful to appeal—to the Holy See, in order to induce the Pontiff to put a stop, by the threat of excommunication, to the rebellion. John XXII received the English ambassadors with marked kindness; and by his comminatory letters addressed to the Archbishops of Dublin and Cashel, complied with the request. The Papal letters were appealed against by O’Niel and his comrades and allies. They wrote to the Pontiff to complain of his conduct and of the severity of the course which he was pursuing against them. In a lengthened document they endeavoured to prove their independence of the English crown, and this they sent to the Papal Legate in Scotland, by him to be forwarded to the holy Father. They speak of the antiquity of their kingdom; detail the circumstances under which Adrian IV had made over their country to Henry II, and show that the conditions of that grant had not only not been complied with, but the evils to be redressed had been increased a thousand fold. To them the English had been no better than cruel tyrants, and it was to free themselves and their country from this tyranny that they

O’Niel complains of the Pope’s conduct.

¹ Fordun xii, 32.

had at last taken up arms. This document interested the Pontiff in behalf of the oppressed. He wrote in their favour to the English monarch, enumerated the grievances complained of, and earnestly begged of Edward to alleviate them. The monarch promised to comply with the Papal wishes, and with the publication of this promise, peace was quickly restored through the length and breadth of Ireland. These facts are adduced to show that the Pope was looked up to as the common father of Christendom. Not only does he establish bishoprics, confer the pall, and restrain by censures the violence or injustice of kings and prelates, but he is made and acknowledged to be the arbiter and umpire of differences, and on his award is staked, in every critical emergency, the issue of even warlike enterprizes. Such facts prove irrefragably his sacred character; and the expression of denial or doubt of his being considered in the beginning of the fourteenth century the father of all the faithful, can only be looked upon as a sign of either gross ignorance or a recklessness about the evidence derivable from every page of authentic history.

The Pope
interests
himself in
favour of the
Irish.

On the demise of Reynolds, who occupied the See of Canterbury for nearly fourteen years, Simon Mepham, Prebendary of Chichester, was consecrated at Avignon, where the Pontiff John XXII then resided, in 1327, and at the same time the pall was conferred on him. But his was an unhappy superiority. Like many of his predecessors he had to suffer much from the opposition of the monks of Canterbury. By them, complaints were sent to Rome against him. They accused him of seizing some of the monastic possessions; and the Pope, to settle the dispute, sent his nuncio to England to examine into

Appeals
against
Mepham.

Mepham is
condemned.

the merits of each party. The result was the condemnation of the archbishop, and an order to restore property to the amount of seven hundred pounds sterling.¹ The remainder of his short Episcopate was spent in regulating the observance of festivals, correcting abuses, punishing the murderers of Bishop Stapleton of Exeter, and visiting the various dioceses of England. He died on the 12th of October, 1333, and was succeeded by Stratford, Bishop of Winchester. The new archbishop and the Pope had enough to engage their undivided attention during the reign of the warlike Edward; the former in guarding the Church in England against the aggressions of the court, the latter in preserving, as far as this was attainable, the peace of Europe. Edward's wars entailed on him great expenses, and to defray these expenses the clergy and laity were heavily taxed. As the guardian of the Church, the archbishop issued his protest, and pronounced his censures against the royal plunderers,² whilst the Pope, as the common father of the faithful, endeavoured by messengers and letters to guide a prince too easily misled by flatterers, cupidity, ambition and passion.³ The king was angry with the archbishop, but Stratford was firm. Accused of treason, he appealed to his peers, and by them was honourably acquitted; and eventually even the sovereign withdrew his accusations, on the ground that they

Troubles of
the Church
during the
fourteenth
century.

¹ *Godwin de Præs. Ang. in Simon Mepham.*

² Walsingham 136, and *Anglia Sac.* i, 28.

³ John XXII's words are very striking when he exhorts the king not to expose his mother's shame:—"Obsecramus te fili; par viscera misericordie Jesu Christi, ut matris pudori, quantum secundum Deum poteris, velis parcere, et ejus lapsum, si quis (quod absit) fuerit, non publicare, sed quantum bono modo poteris, ipsum potius studeas occultare."—*Apud Raynald.* iii, 413. The exhortations of Benedict XII may be seen in Rymer iv, 826; v, 88—128, &c. &c.

were null and false.⁴ Benedict XII had a troublesome son in Edward. The English king had written to him to apprise him of his intentions in regard of France, of which country he claimed the crown; and the Pontiff, to prevent if possible a war between the two powers, sent over to England two cardinals, to whom Edward showed every mark of respect, and to whose advice he yielded—but only for a while. Clement VI was somewhat more successful in his endeavours than his predecessor; but perhaps this success may be more justly ascribed to Edward's altered circumstances than to a feeling of respect for the holy Father. He had grown tired of the French expedition when two cardinals again came over to England to negotiate a peace. They were successful. A truce which was to last for three years and eight months was agreed to, and further the belligerents consented to submit the settlement of their disputes to the equity and wisdom of the common Father, the Pontiff of Rome. Notwithstanding this cessation of hostilities and arbitrement, war again broke out between the English and French; but the Pope did not cease to sue for a cessation of hostilities until his request was granted. He procured an armistice for a few months, which was however happily prolonged to six years.⁵ A detailed account of the ecclesiastical proceedings between England and Rome during the Archiepiscopate of Stratford, would not prove interesting to the reader; for it would be in fact merely a repetition of that kind of appeals to which it has been our duty to direct the reader's attention so frequently already—appeals bearing on the temporalities of the Church—appeals made in the most energetic language, and developing with the greatest

The Popes labour to restore peace between the French and English,

and succeed.

⁴ See Rapin, vol. i, 540—3.

⁵ Rot. Parl. ii, 136.

Discrimination between the temporal and spiritual powers.

The king angry at the appointment of some prelates.

exactness the difference which was known to exist between the Papal supremacy, which was uniformly and solemnly acknowledged, and an abuse of that authority, by extending it to merely civil questions, and urging claims of moneys either for the use of the Pope or of his friends, to which they were not strictly entitled. However powerful these appeals may be, never is the spiritual authority of the Pope or the dependence of the English Church on Rome lost sight of for a single moment: these things appear in every line of these addresses, and are manifest even in the *fact* of the appeals themselves. Fidelity and submission to Rome was an admitted obligation, but this obligation had its limits; in the same manner as fidelity to the sovereign was obligatory, but obligatory to a certain point. The temporal was not to clash with the spiritual, nor the spiritual with the temporal power. Those who may wish to study the language of these appeals, &c., are remitted to the statutes of Edward II and III, and to Tierney's edition of *Dodd's Church History*, vol. i, p. 344. I will limit my observations then, as usual, to a few leading facts. Orleton was nominated by the Pontiff to the rich and important See of Winchester. This appointment greatly displeased Edward, for he looked upon this prelate, and he had reason to do so, as the worst enemy of his family and throne; hence his appeal to his Holiness. He tells the Pope that Orleton had called Edward II a tyrant, and further, that it was at the instigation of this person, that Queen Isabel had been estranged and separated from her husband.¹ Nor was this all. The king was also opposed to the appointment of Beck² to the See of Norwich, which had been made directly by his Holiness. He appeals

¹ Anglia Sac. i, 534.

² Idem. i, 414.

against the Pope's appointment, because it was the royal privilege to approve of or to reject prelates chosen; and it was opposed to the privileges of the crown, till then allowed by the Pontiffs, for the person rejected to be approved of and confirmed by Rome. But in neither case did the king succeed in his object: the Pontiff's appointments remained good.

He appeals to Rome.

Again, when Edward was angry with the Archbishop, and was anxious to prove him guilty of high treason, a wish which the monarch afterwards regretted and repudiated, as we have already stated, he thus concludes his second letter, directed to his English subjects, relative to this unfortunate dispute between the heads of the Church and State in England. "And in regard, we ought to make it our care to preserve the rights and prerogatives of our crown, so worthily maintained by the kings our predecessors, which prerogatives, the Archbishop, by his late excommunications, has endeavoured to lessen and wrest from us, notwithstanding they have been formally yielded and allowed *by the Popes, prelates, and clergy of this kingdom*, we strictly command you not to publish any such ecclesiastical censures denounced by the said Archbishop." &c.¹ On what the king based his opposition, is evident from these few lines; and further it is seen, that whilst addressing his subjects, he recognized fully the authority of the Pontiffs. The Archbishop was soon restored to favour, which he ought never to have forfeited; for he was ever faithful to God, to his Church, and to the King. Again, when Clement VI had appointed a provision for two Cardinals, to the annual value of two thousand marks, upon the next vacant benefices, the king

Grounds of certain regal claims affecting the Church.

¹ Birchington, Ang. Sac. p. i, p. 36.

Edward's
letter to
Clement VI.

addressed a long and energetic letter to the Pontiff, to complain of this perpetuation of an injustice which the English Church had long endeavoured to redress. “Edward, by the grace of God, King of France, England, and Lord of Ireland, to our *most Holy Father in Christ, and Lord, the Pope*, by Divine Providence, Chief Bishop of the Holy Roman and Catholic Church, with all imaginable respect, greeting.” He begins his letter by observing that the former anxiety of the Holy See to govern the Church worthily, fills him with confidence in his present appeal. Next he tells the Pontiff of the liberality of the English in former and present times towards the Church, in order to secure to it good and useful pastors; and how this end was formerly attained. He says that latterly things have sadly altered, for by virtue of the Papal provisions, men ignorant of the English language, and incompetent to discharge the duties of the English ministry, were placed in the richest benefices, to the great detriment of the interests of the Church, and the discouragement of native merit. This course of conduct had for some time been complained of, the king says, and he had been exhorted to redress the evil as efficaciously and speedily as possible. Hence, he adds, I cannot remain silent. Then he begs of His Holiness to consider 1° his own character: you are, he says, *St. Peter's successor*, and as such, yours is the duty to feed, and not to shear the flock.” 2° “We likewise desire your Holiness to recollect how obedient our royal family, the clergy and laity of our kingdom have hitherto been to your See; for which behaviour we may reasonably expect a return of parental affection.”¹

¹ Walsingh. Hist. Ang. p. 161.

Surely this document must satisfy every reader, of the ideas of our English sovereign, Edward III, relative to the authority of the Holy See; and his dependence on it. The Pope, and not Edward, was assuredly the head of the Anglican Church.

Ufford, the Archbishop elect, was approved of by the Pope, but dying soon after, during the pestilence which decimated the whole of England, Bradwardine, known to his contemporaries by the honorable title of "*the Profound Doctor*," was consecrated in the place of Strafford at Avignon, by Cardinal Bertrand. But his tenure of power was short; for he died on the 21st August 1349, having only been Archbishop six weeks. In the following December, Simon Islip was honored with the pall by the Pontiff, who raised him to the vacant see on account of his singular merits, without any concurrence of the Canterbury monks. In his time the precursor of Wycliffe arose, to trouble the nation with his crude and anarchical notions of religion and politics—the violent itinerant preacher, John Ball.² By Islip the new doctrines were denounced, and the heresiarch himself was excommunicated for broaching "errors, schisms, and scandals," against the Pope, Archbishops, Bishops, and Clergy in general. Islip was the founder of Canterbury College, Oxford, of which the notorious Wycliffe was appointed warden, after the removal by the founder, of Woodhall, a monk of Canterbury.³ The removal of Wycliffe by Langham, Islip's successor, was a cause, if not the real motive of the coarse invectives in which Wycliffe indulged for

Islip receives the pall.

Wycliffe.

Origin of this bad man's opposition to the Church.

² That this is the true order of events seems to me to be certain.

³ Wilkins, Concil. iii, 64-152.

Wycliffe
appeals to
Rome.

Foiled, he
abuses the
Pope.

He is re-
peatedly
condemned
by the
Bishops
and Oxford,

a very considerable period, first against monks and friars, and eventually against the Pope and the Church itself.¹ Like Luther, Wycliffe, in the first moment of disappointment, appealed to the Pontiff; but his sincerity was rendered more than doubtful by the tenor of his after conduct. Foiled in this appeal, though it had caused the most searching investigation—an investigation which was conducted with the greatest impartiality before Cardinal Adruinus, he designated the Pope Antichrist, and accused the whole body of the clergy of covetousness, neglect of duty, and the grossest ignorance; and endeavoured to induce the laity to rise as one man against them, and deprive them of their ecclesiastical possessions.² To Langham, Whittlesey, Sudbury and Courtney, the four immediate successors of Islip, the rejected warden caused much trouble and anxiety. By the two latter he was severely censured and condemned; and eighteen propositions drawn from his writings having been submitted by these prelates to Gregory XI, he was ordered by the Pope to be arrested and examined.³ The examination eventuated in another and severer censure, which Oxford ratified and confirmed. The king too eventually approved of the condemnation, and ordered Wycliffe to be expelled the university. The royal censure had the effect of silencing the heresiarch,

¹ Wycliffe's writings are of the coarsest character. If Luther has been rightly described by Hallam as a man "*bellowing in bad Latin*," Wycliffe may be described as the retailer of calumnies in filthy slang. Certainly neither of these reformers was practically acquainted with the instructions of St. Paul. Whoever displeased them was sure to be slandered and abused. Of this man's inconsistencies it must be needless to speak, to any reader at all acquainted with his examinations. His changes and explanations can only provoke the smile of contempt for *such* a teacher.

² See Lewis, 34, 7, 8.

³ Walsingham, 191, and Harpsfield, 683.

and of inducing him to approve, or to seem to approve of the sentence of the Church; for in 1382 he retracted He retracts, his errors, and, in the presence of the Archbishops, six prelates, and a large concourse of theologians and other witnesses, read a profession of his faith in the tenets of the Church of Rome. From this moment he buried himself in the obscurity of his rectory of Lutterworth, and on the 31st of December 1384, expired. He was seized by his last illness whilst *hearing Mass*, on the feast of Holy and dies whilst assisting at Mass. Innocents.⁴ I have recorded these events, which extend over a considerable space of time, in order to demonstrate still further the faith and principles of the Church at this period, and to show the method adopted to stop the progress of heresy in the fourteenth century. To Gregory XI the faithful appealed, even as in the time of Pelagius recourse was had to the orthodoxy of the Pontiff Innocent. The system pursued in 1382, was identical with that advocated and acted upon in 416: a thousand years had worked no change in the Catholic mind!

It is now time to return to the transactions of the various archbishops, with whose names and conduct, as defenders of the faith, the reader has become acquainted to some extent. Whilst Islip was archbishop an unfortunate dispute between Lylde, Bishop of Ely, and the Lady Blanche Wake, daughter of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, raged. It was occasioned by a fire on the estate of Wake

⁴ There is a long and elaborate article on "*Le Bas' Life of Wickliffe*," in the eleventh volume of the *British Critic* for 1832, pp. 257—287. As a specimen of sophistry and abuse—abuse directed against Doctors Milner and Lingard—it deserves notice. But assuredly it cannot mislead any scholar in regard to the main facts of Wickliffe's disorderly and inconsistent conduct. Lingard's account is irrefragable, because based on authentic and independent, not garbled and party statements.

Islip's
troubles.

He goes to
the Pope,

who excom-
municates
the king's
justices.

Messengers
sent by the
king to
appease his
Holiness.

which bordered on that of the bishop, which was soon followed by the murder of one of her servants by a Norman gentleman who lived in the bishop's palace. The bishop was looked upon as accessory to these crimes, for which he was subsequently prosecuted. He however absolutely maintained his innocence on both the counts of accusation, and demanded judgment from his peers; but his demand was refused, and he was brought in guilty by a jury of commoners. The bishop appealed to the archbishop's court, but finding him afraid of the royal party hastened to Avignon, where the Pontiff resided, to prove his innocence and to complain of the injustice practised against him by the king. The Pope cited the king's justices to appear before him, and on their refusal excommunicated them and laid their possessions under an interdict. And when the king issued orders opposed to the Pontiff's rights, and in consequence of the excommunication maltreated the bishop's friends and agents, the Pope wrote an expostulatory letter to Edward, in which he threatened to proceed to still greater lengths in vindication of the Church's liberties, unless satisfaction were at once made to the injured Bishop of Ely. Edward, afraid of the results of his non-compliance, sent off agents to Avignon to appease the Pope. Llyde died in 1360, just as his cause was being settled satisfactorily.¹ Islip died six years afterwards, on the 20th April; and on the fourth of the following November Langham received from Urban V the Archiepiscopal pall. Honours were quickly thrust upon the new prelate; for on the 12th of May, 1367, he was nominated Cardinal of St. Praxedes, which title was changed for that

¹ Anglia Sac. pars. i, 655; Walsingham, ad ann. 1358, and *Godwin in Epis. Elec.* in h. l.

of Cardinal of Præneste by Gregory XI.¹ Raised to the cardinalitial dignity, Langham like Kilwarby resigned his See of Canterbury which was given by Urban on the 11th October, 1367, to William Whittlesey, who received the pall in the following April. This prelate had formerly been Bishop of London. As archbishop he was not much distinguished, for owing to a lengthened sickness he was disqualified for the discharge of his onerous duties. Still he was faithful to his trust: he convened two synods for the regulation of the affairs of the Church; obtained several privileges for the University of Oxford from the Pontiff, one of which was its exemption from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Lincoln, and joined with the parliament in passing an act for freedom of episcopal election, with which the sovereign seemed much disposed to interfere for the furtherance of his own ends. Edward was much opposed to the nomination of foreigners to English benefices; hence in 1374 he directed letters to each of the bishops, in which he bad them inform him which and how many were the livings, &c., in each diocese, in the hands of Italians and other foreigners.² This he did in order, as usual, to write to the Pontiff letters of complaint: but Edward never gained his object. He could not intimidate the Pope, or induce him to assent to demands which, though plausible in appearance would if agreed to, have rather been injurious than advantageous to the English Church. The Pontiff's policy was delay; and by these delays the

Whittlesey's enactments.

The Pope refuses to accede to the wishes of the king relative to benefices.

¹ There are various accounts of these changes in Collier, Godwin, &c. The account in the text seems to me to be the true one. Collier's account is palpably false. See in proof of this the dates assigned to the archbishop's death, and the appointment of his successor.

² Fox's Acts and Monuments, *in loc.* These letters were issued from Westminster in the forty-eighth year of Edward's reign.

Sudbury,
formerly
chaplain to
Pope Inno-
cent, made
archbishop.

ardour of the monarch was restrained, and the Church was saved: *cunctando restituit rem*. Whittlesey died on the 1st of July, 1374. His successor was Sudbury, who was well known at Rome, for he had been chaplain to Innocent VI, and auditor of the rota: his appointment to the See of Canterbury was made on the 4th of May, 1375; Adam Eyston, the nominee of the Canterbury monks, being judiciously rejected by Gregory XI.¹ At this period the strongest proof was given of England's union with and devotedness to the Holy See. On the death of Gregory the Catholic world was distracted by the opposition of the Antipope, Cardinal, Robert of Geneva, to the lawful possessor of the Pontifical throne, Urban VI. This Pontiff had been canonically elected on the death of Gregory;² but the French cardinals, displeased with the severity of Urban, withdrew their allegiance, on the plea of the nullity of Urban's election, owing to a want of that freedom which the canons require. They chose Robert, who took the name of Clement VII, and thus a schism was commenced, the effects of which were felt for ages. But England remained faithful to Urban. The claims of the two aspirants for the Papacy having been maturely examined in parliament, it was determined by the legislature not only to acknowledge Urban and obey him as head of the Church, but also to deprive every Englishman of the privileges to which he was entitled as such, who should reject the Pontiff or favour the pretensions of the Antipope. Urban in gratitude to the king and parliament,

The great
schism.

Fidelity of
England to
the rightful
Pontiff.

¹ See Godwin and Antiq. Brit. in l. c.

² See in proof of Urban's election Baldus apud Reynald, ad ann. 1378, § 36, who solidly establishes his position. Baldus is acknowledged to have been the ablest canonist of his age.

conferred on the crown the nomination to the two next vacant prebends in all collegiate Churches throughout England. The offer was received with evident joy by the court: it was looked upon as the beginning of a victory for which the crown had long contended. For years the presentation to benefices by Rome had been looked upon as a grievance; hence every concession on this head was gladly received. It was hoped now that concessions would be gradually made, which would end in a cession of all further claims by the Pontiffs to provisions; and this hope was eventually realized. After much contestation, a compromise was proposed and accepted. Rome ceded all her claims to provisions, except a few in favour of some of the cardinals, and of such natives as should have previously obtained the royal licence, and the severe statutes proposed or passed in parliament against provisions were greatly qualified. It should be observed that the bishops, whose fidelity to Rome was unimpeachable, and who strictly observed the oath³ they had taken to the Holy

Concessions made to the crown.

³ For the information of the reader I will transcribe the episcopal oath formerly taken by our bishops. It may be seen in Rymer xiii, 256, Godwin, and numerous other writers; such as Wilkins, Spelman, &c.—“Ego N. Electus N. ab hac hora in antea fidelis et obediens ero Beato Petro, sanctæque Apostolicæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et domino nostro domino N. Papæ ac ejus successoribus canonicè intransibis; non ero in consilio, consensu, tractatu, vel facto, ut vitam perdant, aut membrum; aut in eos violenter manus quomodolibet ingerantur, vel injuriæ aliquæ inferantur, quovis quæsito colore. Consilium vero quod mihi credituri sunt, per se aut nuntios, seu litteras, ad eorum damnum, me sciente, nemini pandam; papatum Romanum, et regalia Sancti Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum contra omnem hominem. Legatum Apostolicæ sedis, in eundo et redeundo, honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. Jura, honores, privilegia et auctoritatem Romanæ Ecclesiæ, domini nostri Papæ, et successorum prædictorum conservare, defendere, augere et promoveri curabo; nec ero in consilio, in facto, seu in tractatu, in quibus contra ipsum dominum nostrum, vel eandem Romanam ecclesiam, aliqua

Form of the ancient episcopal oath.

See, were as much opposed to the system of Papal provisions as even the lay members of the legislature and the sovereign himself.¹ The acts of parliament in favour of Urban, as well as the arrangements agreed upon between the English and Pontifical courts to which we have just referred, attest the faith of England in relation to the Holy See down to the unfortunate reign of Richard II. Sudbury's was a violent death. He was seized, bound, and butchered on Tower Hill, on the 14th June, 1381, by the Kentish rebels, under the conduct of the demagogues Wat Tyler and Jack Straw. His last words were a prayer of forgiveness for his enemies : after which, without a sign of fear or concern, he knelt down to receive the fatal stroke.²

Sudbury is murdered.

Courtney, Bishop of London, succeeded to the vacant See on the 9th January, 1382, and received the pall at Croydon, whither it had been sent to him by the Pontiff. In one respect his appointment was somewhat singular.

Courtney receives the pall.

sinistra vel præjudicialia personarum, juris, honoris, statûs, et potestatis eorum machinentur; et si talia a quibuscunque tractari novero vel procurari, impediam hoc pro posse, et quantocius potero commode significabo eidem domino nostro, vel alteri, per quem ad ipsius notitiam pervenire possit. Regulas sanctorum patrum, decreta, ordinationes, dispositiones, reservationes, sententias, promissiones, et mandata Apostolica totis viribus observabo, et faciam ab aliis observari: hæreticos, schismaticos et rebelles domino nostro, vel successoribus prædictis pro posse persequar et impugnavo; vocatus ad synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonicâ præpeditiōe. Apostolorum limina, Romana curia existente citra, singulis annis, ultra vero montes, singulis bienniis, visitabo per me, aut per meum nuntium, nisi Apostolica absolver licentia? Possessiones vero ad mensam meam pertinentes non vendam, neque donabo, neque impignorabo, neque de novo infeudabo, neque aliquo modo alienabo, etiam cum consensu capituli Ecclesiæ meæ, inconsulto Romano Pontifice. Sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia."

¹ Harpsfield Eccles. Hist. p. 513.

² Godwin and Collier *in loco*.

On the vacancy of the See, the monks of Canterbury named him unanimously to the Metropolitcal dignity ; but before it was known at Rome who was the English nominee, the Pontiff had appointed Courtney, by provision, to the archbishopric. Of his zeal against the Wycliffites we have had occasion to speak already. From others too he had to experience much opposition ; and these others were the Bishops of Exeter, Salisbury, and Lincoln. The Bishop of Exeter objected to the suspension of his authority occasioned by the prorogation of the Archiepiscopal visitation ; the Bishop of Lincoln complained of the tax which the archbishop had ordered to be gathered in his diocese by order of the Pope, and the Bishop of Salisbury refused to receive the archbishop in his capacity of visitor of that diocese, in consequence of a bull of privilege which was said to have been granted to that bishopric by Pope Boniface. The result was an appeal by all the parties concerned to Rome.³ To a Pontiff they ascribed their privileges, and from a Pontiff was expected the ratification of those same privileges. Such was the conduct of former English prelates ; how different the mode of action of the present occupants of their Sees. Courtney died on the 31st July, 1396, and the Papal bulls appointing Arundell to the archbishopric were published on the 11th of the following January. The pall soon followed ; it was delivered on the 10th of February of the same year. Accused of treason, together with several nobles of the land who were executed, Arundell was banished his country, and his See was temporarily possessed by Roger Walden, dean of York and treasurer of England, at the king's special request. This office Walden held for up-

He meets with opposition from several bishops.

who appeal to Rome.

Arundell archbishop.

He is accused of treason, and banished.

³ Antiq. Brit. in Courtney.

Arundell is
restored

wards of two years ; but the king dying at the expiration of that period Walden was deposed by the Pope, who restored Arundell to his See, by virtue of his supreme power over the entire Church. Arundell survived his restoration several years, and these years were spent in maintaining the immunities of the Church, and adding to the previous magnificence of the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury. During his exile he found a sincere friend in Pope Boniface IX, to whose court he at once repaired. The kindness of the Pontiff exasperated Richard, who went to him to complain of his harbouring an enemy, and of holding out to him hopes either of returning to his See or of such preferments as would more than compensate him for the loss of Canterbury. He prayed him not to hold out such encouragement hereafter, otherwise misunderstandings might arise which it would be difficult to correct. "Further," he added, "we heartily desire you would take this matter into serious consideration, as you tender our royal regards, and expect a compliance with any future request your Holiness may make to us."¹ The severity and informal conduct of Richard against the archbishop was made one of the matters of indictment against the deposed king,² and the Pope at the request of Henry, Richard's successor on the English throne, not only de-
and Walden
deposed.
prived Walden of the See of Canterbury, but reinstated Arundell in the most formal manner in his former position in the English Church.³ The virtuous Walden resigned without a murmur ; his piety, however, soon secured to him the honourable post of Bishop of London. With one

¹ Antiq. Brit. in Arundell.

² Decem Script. col. 2752, &c.

³ Walsing. Hist. Ang. p. 354, and Wharton de Epis. Londin. p. 149.

more fact connected with Richard's reign I will close all further observations bearing on this period. When the monarch beheld the Pontiff busily engaged in translating the prelates to and fro, he called the clergy together, to whom he proposed this question: Has the Pope power to make and translate bishops at pleasure? The clergy were unwilling to give a clear answer; but in one thing they all agreed, they requested the king to entreat the Pontiff not to make such translations for the future.

Request of
the clergy to
Richard.

To put a stop to the great schism had become a matter of the deepest concern to the whole Church. It was felt everywhere that this division was not more injurious to the Church than to the various States of Christendom; hence the correspondence between state and state, and the resolution come to of labouring together to convene a general Council in order to find a remedy for the lengthening evil. No powers laboured perhaps with more zeal in this matter than England and France; and when at length a Council was convened at Pisa, a Synod was assembled by order of the Archbishop of Canterbury at London, to choose representatives to assist at the Italian Council. Chicheley of St. David's, and Allen of Salisbury were the episcopal delegates; the king having previously sent his ambassadors, Sir John Colville and Rixton to accommodate matters with the Pontiff Gregory and his cardinals. To the Pope as well as to the cardinals the sovereign of England addressed letters worthy of the occasion. He tells the former, whom he styles *most holy Father*, how the recent schism had troubled the whole of Christendom; that a true father would rather *give up the child* than allow it to be torn to pieces, and that therefore should circumstances require this, he should rather resign his dignity

Endeavours
made to stop
the great
schism.

Letters sent
on this sub-
ject by the
English
king.

than allow the schism to be any longer perpetuated. He tells the Cardinals what he had written to the Pope, and desires them to make a proper provision for Gregory, should he for the welfare of the Church resign the Popedom.¹

Arundell was a zealous maintainer of the possessions of the Church. When it was proposed in parliament to seize on its estates, he rose and ably defended the rights of the clergy; showed how these had always aided the State, and that those who proposed the alienation of their property did so, not to better either the king or the country at large, but to aggrandize themselves. This he proved in respect to former seizures; and when at the close of his address he exclaimed, "that after plundering the Church the State would not be a mark the richer:" convinced of the truth of his words, the king promised that the estates of the Church should remain intact and uninjured. When too Oxford again, under the pretext of Pontifical exemption, declined the visitation which it much required, the archbishop being determined on the reformation of the university, wrote to Rome, and begged of the Pontiff to rescind all former grants made to the university unfavourable to the archbishop's exercise of power; and what he asked was granted. Further to guard the orthodoxy of the English, he procured a bull from Rome condemnatory of the doctrines of Wyckliffe;² and had his wishes been consulted, even the bones of the heresiarch would have been dug up, in order to express his detestation of this enemy of Holy Church. Further, it was during Arundell's Primacy that Gregory XII pronounced sentence of

The privileges of Oxford, rescinded by Rome.

¹ Walsingham, p. 378.

Wood Hist. Univ. Oxon. p. 205-6.

excommunication against all those concerned in the execution of Archbishop Scroope, of York, who was put to death on the charge of rebellion. Henry alarmed for himself, wrote to the Pontiff Innocent VII—Gregory was now dead—in justification of his conduct; and the Pontiff in return freed all those from the sentence passed by Gregory who were sorry for their misconduct towards the late Archbishop Scroope.³ After a life of great advantage to his Church, Arundell died in 1413, and Chichley Bishop of St. David's was appointed his successor by John XXIII, in the second year of Henry V. The pall was delivered to him at Winchester on the 29th July, 1414. Chichley flourished at an eventful period, during which the English Church had many opportunities of testifying its adherence to the Holy See. The great schism was at length brought to a close; but not before the prelates of Christendom had assembled together and acted in unison for the attainment of the great object which had been so long and so earnestly desiderated by all Europe. A Council was held at Constance for the purpose of deliberating on the means of restoring unity, and to it were sent the Bishops of Salisbury, Bath and Hereford, the Abbot of Westminster and the Prior of Worcester, as the clerical representatives of this country; whilst the Earl of Warwick acted as Henry's ambassador at the Council. Eventually on the death of the prelates Hall and Marshall, Clifford Bishop of London, the Chancellors of the two Universities, and a considerable number of theologians, were sent to the Council. Martin V was chosen as Pontiff in place of the rival claimants Balthassar Cossa, John XXIII, Angelus Corarius, who had taken the name of Gregory XII, and Peter de Luna,

The murderers of Archbishop Scroope excommunicated by the Pope.

Chichley, Archbishop.

³ Apud Reynald v, 291.

Joy of Eng-
land on the
termination
of the
schism.

known at the time by his partizans as Benedict XIII. The two former were easily induced for the good of the Church to resign their claims; and eventually, after a short struggle on the part of a canon of Barcelona, who pretended to claim the Popedom as Benedict's successor, the schism ceased.¹ The Catholic world hailed the intelligence of the restoration of unity; but no where was the news more joyfully received than in England, which had entered so earnestly into the whole matter. Martin, like his predecessors, acted like one fully convinced of the universality of his jurisdiction. Soon he had, by virtue of his own power, promoted no fewer than thirteen bishops in the province of Canterbury, voided the election of the chapters, and granted numerous privileges to individuals in respect to non-residence and the collation of benefices. Complaints were addressed to the Holy See; and at length Martin agreed that to the bishops should hereafter be committed the appropriations of the English Churches, that non-residence should not be permitted, and that the English clergy should partake equally with the clergy of other nations of the honours and emoluments of the Holy See.

Martin's acts
in reference
to England.

But if Martin was willing to grant favours to the English Church, he was firm and inflexible in his opposition to the aggressions of the Court, which ceased not to strive to gain possession of the temporalities of the Church, and to secure to itself those provisions of which it had complained so loudly when claimed by the Holy See. Chichley, who was looked upon by Martin as his responsible agent in England, was severely reproached by the Pontiff for

¹ See the History of Bercastel; or the Councils of this period, Concil. t. xii, 6, &c.

having opposed so feeble a remonstrance against the statute of præmunire: he was reminded of his duty and his responsibilities, and told, too, why and by whom he had been raised to his present dignity. He was made bishop to rule the Church, to vindicate its rights, to raise his voice against all assaults upon it from whatever quarter they might proceed: he was not to be a dumb dog on such an occasion—but his was the duty to make his voice heard; and if he had not done so, great indeed would be his guilt. “Now,” asked the Pope, “have you thus acted firmly. Pray peruse that *royal law*—if there be anything either *royal* or *law* in it to entitle it to be called a *royal law*—for how can that be called a *law* which repeals the laws of God and the Church? and how can that deserve the name of *royal* which destroys the ancient usages of the kingdom? I desire to know, reverend brother, whether you, who are a Catholic bishop, think it reasonable that such an act as this should have any force in a Christian land?” Next the Pontiff details his objections to the law; and then bids the archbishop, under pain of excommunication, to go to the privy council, and exert all his influence to obtain its repeal, and afterwards to do the same before the parliament, and there state distinctly that those who obeyed the statute would be *ipso facto* excommunicated. Further, as a security for his compliance with this order, he was commanded to take two persons with him, who should certify the Holy See of his obedience in every respect. Anxious to pacify the Pontiff, Chicheley wrote a long letter of explanation to the Pope; but Martin was not satisfied, and accordingly he deprived him for awhile of his legatine authority:² and in

He reproaches the archbishop for his pusillanimity.

and deprives him of the legatine authority.

² Burnet's Reform. vol. i, 110.

Martin
rejects the
statutes of
Edward and
Richard
opposed to
the Church.

another letter urged him to execute, as far as possible, his former requests. Further, in a letter addressed to the two archbishops, he set aside the statutes of Edward III and Richard II, opposed to the liberties of the Church, and forbade, under the penalty of excommunication, either them or any other persons whatsoever to submit to them.

Appeals to
the Pope in
favour of
Chichley by
bishops, &c.

No prelate had more universally enjoyed the esteem and love of the clergy and nation than Chichley; hence the leading prelates and the University of Oxford¹ addressed several letters to the Pontiff, in which they held up Chichley as a person deserving of the highest praise and favour; begged of the Pontiff not to attend to idle reports against his character, and prayed that the archbishop might be restored to the Pontiff's favour, and to all his former posts of confidence and esteem. The archbishop himself, too, wrote to Martin, promising to do all in his power for the Church, but at the same time complaining of the severity of the conduct which he had had to experience from Rome. But the Pope was resolutely bent upon his object; hence he addressed fresh letters to the parliament, the Duke of Bedford, and to the king, whom he reminded of a former promise to rescind the obnoxious acts at the meeting of parliament.² Chichley did exert himself. In the most energetic language, and with arguments well calculated to attain his end, he addressed the assembled Commons; exposed the injustice of the laws; detailed the horrors of an interdict, and the consequence of opposing the Pontiff; and begged of them to yield to his instant

¹ Wood, *Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* l. i, 212.

² See the documents on this affair in Burnet's *Collection of Records*, vol. i, p. 98-9, &c.

supplications and entreaties. What was the result of this address has not been distinctly recorded: in one thing, however, all were agreed,—that it was necessary to urge the king to write to Martin in favour of the zealous and devoted archbishop of Canterbury.³ The king complied with the request.

Under Eugenius, Pope Martin's successor, England again stood forth in favour of Rome. Dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Council of Basle, Eugenius dissolved that synod. This order gave great offence; and some, determined on carrying it on, declared that the Pontiff had no power to dissolve a council convened by Papal authority. The position amounts, as is obvious, to an absurdity; for if a Pontiff can convene, surely a Pontiff can dissolve a council; and this was the view taken by the lower house at the holding of the convocation of London, called together by order of the archbishop of Canterbury for the examination of this very difficulty, raised by the remonstrants at Basle. Beckington, dean of the Arches, reported the resolution of the lower house to the archbishop; and it was unanimously approved of by the prelates. Hence it was further declared, that should the fathers at Basle elect another Pontiff, such Pontiff must be rejected, since Eugenius could not thus be deposed. Henry, too, wrote to the Pope, lamenting the differences which had reopened; but he assured him of his fidelity to the Holy See, and further promised to send representatives to any other place the Pope might choose to name, should he deem it requisite to translate the council to some other city.⁴ The Pope summoned a council to be

England sides with Eugenius, in opposition to the prelates at Basle.

³ Burnet's Collection of Records, p. 100.

⁴ Con. t. 12, col. 790.

held at Ferrara which was eventually translated to Florence ; and thither the English prelates repaired, according to promise. At this council the Greeks were again united to the Catholic Church.

Before drawing this hasty sketch to a conclusion, it may be as well to notice another act of firmness ending in an appeal to Rome, as also a letter of the Pontiff in connexion with one of our sovereigns. When Kemp, archbishop of York, was made Cardinal, he wished to take precedence of Chichley even in the diocese of Canterbury ; but to this the primate objected ; and to end the dispute, sent a letter to the Pope, and appointed a proxy to plead his cause before him. The result cannot prove interesting to the reader ; but the fact of the appeal offers fresh confirmation to the position that England in every way testified her belief in the supremacy of the Holy See. Even an allusion to the death of Henry V, made by Pope Martin, shows what unity of faith existed between England and Rome. Evidently the Pontiff and his informants looked upon the king as a Catholic. “ *In Domino mortuus est : nam sicut accepimus, cor ejus excelsum humiliavit, et depositis curis sæculi animum direxit ad Deum, devote sacramenta Ecclesiæ accipiens.*”—*Apud Rayn. vi, 50.* After having ruled the See of Canterbury for twenty-nine years, Chichley died on the twelfth of April, 1443. Stafford was translated from Bath to the archiepiscopal See by the absolute authority of Eugenius IV, on the 23rd of August of the same year.

Eugenius had become well acquainted with the merits of the new archbishop through a letter which he had received about a twelvemonth prior to the late archbishop's death from Chichley himself, who had written to ask permission

Appeal to
Rome, in
reference to
precedence.

of his Holiness to resign his See in consequence of old age and sickness. In this letter his Holiness is told by the writer, "that in his conscience he thought his brother of Bath and Wells a person of the greatest merit, and in all respects best qualified for the See of Canterbury. That, besides his eminent learning and the other qualifications by which he was remarkably distinguished from the greatest part of his order, the nobleness of his birth, the quality of his relations, and the favour he had gained by his hospitality, were still further motives for his elevation."¹ Thus recommended, his election was ensured. Hardly had Eugenius heard of the death of Chickley than he named Stafford his successor.

Stafford is recommended to the Pope as Chickley's successor.

What had been foreseen as a possible result of the obstinacy of the prelates at Basle actually occurred. Rebelling against Eugenius, who would not become a party to their violence and uncanonical proceedings, the assembled fathers set up a creature of their own, a puppet pope, who might give importance to the schismatical faction, and sanction all their misconduct. Felix V—for so Amadæus, the Duke of Savoy, was called—was set up against Eugenius; and great were the endeavours made in various parts of Christendom to place him on the Papal throne to the exclusion of Eugenius. State after state, kingdom after kingdom, yielded their assent either to the wishes or to the reasonings of the schismatical party;² but England never for an hour abandoned the lawful and true Pope, whilst Scotland abetted his cause so zealously, as to hurl the thunderbolts of excommunication against Felix and his adherents. Eugenius' successor was eventually acknow-

England and Scotland faithful to the Pope.

¹ Ang. Sac. i, 572.

² Concil. xiii, col. 1586.

ledged everywhere as the true Pope ; the antepope, Felix, willingly abandoning his pretensions to the tiara. A recitation of the other events connected with this prelate could only prove uninteresting to the reader, for they merely regard the enactments and explanations made relative to provisions, or applications made by Papal nuncios for pecuniary assistance for his Holiness. Allusion having been so frequently made to events of this nature, I will at once pass to the history of the other prelates who sat in the See of Canterbury. On the death of Stafford, on the 6th of July, 1452, Cardinal Kemp, archbishop of York, was raised to the dignity of primate ; and on the 25th of September the pall was presented to him by his nephew, Thomas Kemp, bishop of London. His was a life of preferment. As Godwin observes, "being made doctor of law, he was made, first, archdeacon of Durham, then dean of the Arches and vicar-general unto the archbishop. The year 1418 he was consecrated bishop of Rochester, removed thence to Chichester 1422, from Chichester to London the same year, and from London to York 1425. December 28, 1439, he was made cardinal of St. Balbina, and afterwards, being archbishop of Canterbury, was removed to the title of St. Rufina. These his preferments are briefly expressed in this verse,—

‘ Bis primas, ter præses, et bis cardine functus.’¹

Called to be the head of the Church in England, he summoned a synod at London, after the example of his predecessors ; but beyond this he did little as metropolitan ; for he died on the 22nd of March, 1453, at a very advanced age. Bouchier, his successor, held the See longer than any previous occupant of this metropolitcal dignity : he was

¹ Godwin in loco, p. 113, *Ed.* 1604.

Cardinal
Kemp is
made Arch-
bishop of
Canterbury.

archbishop for the space of thirty-two years. Elected by the monks of Canterbury on the 22nd of April, 1453, he was approved of by the Holy See in the following August, and prior to his enthronization on the 26th of January, 1454, was honored by Pope Nicholas with the cardinal's hat, with the title of Cardinal of St. Cyriacus. The insignia of his new dignity were conveyed to him by the archbishop of Ravenna.

Bourchier is
made car-
dinal.

Henry VI sat on the English throne when Bourchier was made archbishop. His was a troubled reign; and his crown was one of thorns, if ever monarch wore such a crown. The nation presented a scene of wild commotion: it was agitated by the tossings of a moral earthquake; and was lit up by the lurid glare of swords, and shields, and armour; from north to south resounded the shriek of civil discord; and the desolation and marks of blood which met the eye whithersoever it turned, added a feeling of horror to that of previous misery. The red and white roses of Lancaster and York marked the rival parties. A country deluged with blood, and the pallor of despair which sat on the countenances of the bereaved, were well symbolized by the badges adopted by the combatants. The struggle lasted for years: and whilst it continued, our annals contain fuller accounts of the battle-field than of the peaceful choir—of the designs and schemes of politicians and usurpers, than of the energetic exertions of noble prelates and the holy brotherhood in the cause of morality and faith. Still the ecclesiastical history of our country is not wholly interrupted. There are records enough of the watchfulness of the Church; and our prelates were animated then, as in former days, by the guardian spirit of Rome.

Troubles
during the
reign of
Henry VI.

Folly and
heterodoxy
of the Bishop
of Chiches-
ter.

Soon after his enthronement, Bouchier began the visitation of his province; after which he drew up several regulations regarding both the clergy and laity subject to his authority, which were well calculated to benefit his diocese; and these he ordered to be published at St. Paul's cross. From one of his brethren the archbishop had to experience much uneasiness. This person was Reginald Peacock, bishop of Chichester. If we may credit Wood's¹ account, this bishop was as unprincipled as he was vain; and his vanity and pride led him to adopt a line of conduct more befitting a lunatic than a bishop. By circulating violent diatribes against the episcopal body to which he belonged, he had been instrumental in causing a riot which proved fatal to the prelates, Molens and Askue; and by other publications alike heterodox and paradoxical, this *Catholic* prelate laboured hard to unsettle the minds of the people. Bouchier caused the unfortunate man's writings to be examined in a synod at Lambeth, and bad the writer himself appear in person, in order to recant his errors. He did so first at Lambeth on the 24th of November, and and again at London on the 4th of December. His books were burnt in St. Paul's Churchyard, where again he repeated his expressions of regret for the scandal he had given, which he ascribed to an excess of pride. After this he was deprived of his See, and sent to an abbey to do penance for his crimes during the remainder of his life. By Stow the form of recantation used by Peacock has been preserved. It is as follows:—

He is de-
prived.

His recanta-
tion.

“ In the name of the Trinity—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—I, Reginald Peacock, bishop of Chichester, unworthy, of my own power and will, without any manner of

¹ Wood's *Antiq.* Oxon. p. 222-3.

coercion or dread, confess and acknowledge that I here before this time, presuming of my natural wit, and preferring my judgment and natural reason before the Old and New Testament, and the authority and determination of our Mother holy Church, have held, written, and taught, otherwise than the holy Roman and universal Church teacheth, preacheth, or observeth. And against the true Catholic and Apostolic faith, I have written, taught, and published, many and divers perilous doctrines, books, works, and writings, containing errors and heresies contrary to the faith Catholic and determination of holy Church.... Wherefore I, miserable sinner, . . . return, and come again to the unity of our Mother holy Church; and all heresies and errors written and contained in my said books, works, and writings, here solemnly and openly revoke and renounce; which errors and heresies, and all other species of heresies, I have before this time, before the most reverend father in God and my good lord of Canterbury, in divers and lawful forms, judicially abjured, submitting myself, being then, and also now at this time, a very contrite and penitent sinner to the correction of the Church of my said Lord of Canterbury."²

In 1471, Graham, bishop of Brechin (Scotland), procured a bull of exemption for the Scottish Church from Sixtus IV. At this bishop's request, the Pontiff raised St. Andrew's to an archbishopric, and to this See were subjected all the Scottish bishops, who had been previously under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of York. The Scotch bishops were not at all pleased with this arrangement. They were anxious, indeed, to be governed by their own archbishops, but still unwilling to see St. Andrew's pos-

St. Andrew's
made an
archbishop-
ric by Sixtus
IV.

² Stow's Annals, p. 402.

Glasgow too
is raised to
a similar
dignity.

sessed of such an extent of jurisdiction. Hence they requested Sixtus to alter his arrangements ; and instead of one, to appoint two archbishops to manage the affairs of their Church. The Pope complied ; and Glasgow was the city fixed upon to be the new See.¹ Nor was Sixtus only thus attentive to the interests of the Church of Scotland : his affectionate regards were extended, too, to the clergy of this country. Writing against the encroachments of the laity, he says, “ As we are bound, by virtue of our pastoral office, and by the authority of the canons, not to suffer the clergy to invade the rights or encroach upon the courts of secular persons, so, on the other hand, we are equally obliged to prevent the privileges of ecclesiastics from being disturbed, and to admonish the laity not to exceed the limits of their jurisdiction, and oppress the Church. Now, having to our great grief received a complaint from the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, inferior prelates, and the whole clergy of England and Wales, that the artifices of the great enemy and fomentor of discord have so far prevailed that some wicked and ill-disposed persons make it their business to indict and prosecute clerks and religious, and force them to appear before temporal judges upon frivolous pretensions and false suggestions, by which scandalous informations and practices the clergy are frequently imprisoned, forced to part with the revenues of the Church, to quit their benefices, titles, &c. . . . we therefore, by the assistance of God, being desirous to put a stop to this course of violence, especially in a kingdom which has formerly had the honour to cherish and protect religion, have, at the instance and petition of the archbishops, bishops, &c., made

Sixtus
strenuously
opposes all
the enemies
of the liberties
of the
Church,

¹ Concil. t. xiii, col. 1445.

this firm and irrevocable decree, that whoever for the future shall, out of disaffection, malice, envy, fraud, or mercenary views, prosecute, indict, or cause to be imprisoned, any clerk or monk, or by fraud or terror force them to sell, to let to farm, or resign their pensions, titles, freeholds, or any other part of their revenues,—that all such persons shall be *ipso facto* excommunicated, from which censure they shall not be absolved, unless by the Pope or the bishop of the diocese, excepting at the point of death, nor then without making proper satisfaction.”

The date of this bull is May 14, 1476.² And in the following September the same Pontiff restored to the university of Oxford, by a papal bull, all the privileges which it had formerly received from Boniface VIII, and from any of the English kings.³

and restores
to Oxford
its former
privileges.

Bourchier⁴ dying, Morton, the staunch friend and prudent adviser of Henry VI, was raised to the honors of the English primacy. The Pontiff, who had been long acquainted with the merits of the nominee of the monks, was too happy to assent to the appointment; and so the election was confirmed by Innocent VIII. Afterwards, on the 20th of September, 1493, he was honored with the purple, under the title of St. Anastasia, by the Pontiff Alexander. Owing to his poverty at the period of his translation from Ely to Canterbury, he obtained permission from his Holiness to levy a tax on the clergy of the province of Canterbury in order to be able to sustain his new dignity.

Innocent
VIII ap-
points
Morton to
Canterbury.

² Concil. t. xiii, fol. 1446.

³ Wood, *Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* l. i, p. 230.

⁴ Archbishop Bourchier introduced the art of printing into England. For a history of this event, and the trouble and expense to which he was subjected, see Wood, l. c, p. 226-7.

Morton, with the permission of the Pope, taxes the clergy.

Limitations of the privileges of sanctuary.

Grants made by the Pontiff to Henry VII.

The sum collected must have been very considerable, if what Godwin says be true, namely, that he received from his own diocese no less an amount than £354.¹ And this was not the only favour conferred either on the archbishop or the nation at this period. Morton was empowered by the Pope to visit all exempt monasteries, and other places hitherto privileged and free from archiepiscopal jurisdiction. Further, having been informed of the abuses to which the right of sanctuary was liable, the Pope materially limited this privilege; disqualifying all those from partaking of it who should ever have left it to commit crimes; allowing their goods to be siezed who were debtors, even whilst enjoying the privilege of sanctuary; and further, in case of treason, permitting the king to appoint keepers to prevent the escape of such criminals from the sanctuary to which they had fled. Nor is this all. To Henry VII had been further granted,—1°, a dispensation to marry within the prohibited degrees; 2°, a similar dispensation had been obtained, too, for Prince Henry; 3°, the Pontiff had exempted Henry's chapel at Westminster from the jurisdiction of the ordinary, and placed it under the immediate protection of the Holy See; 4°, him, too, he had selected for the honors of *the golden rose*; 5°, though unable to grant the request of the canonization of Henry VI, he had received the petition with kindness, and had approved of the translation of the late monarch's remains; and lastly, by the Pontiff, the title of Henry to the English crown had been confirmed. Such is the record regarding the Pontiff, our

¹ *Godwin*, in l.

² *Conventiones. Acta pub. t. xiii, p. 100.*

³ *Spelman Con. vol. ii, 725.*

king, and bishops, at the period immediately preceding the Reformation: it is similar to the history of the 1000 years which we have been long engaged in sketching. Europe may have been shaken to its very centre—Rome, too, may have been distracted by the rivalry of ambitious antepopes—Wycliffe and Cobham, Tyler and Straw, and Peacock, may have tossed upon the world the offspring of their crude imaginations—still England retained its faith: Rome was still its centre of unity, and by her the ecclesiastical movements in this kingdom were wisely regulated. Kings and commoners, the lords temporal as well as the spiritual peers, alike appealed to and petitioned her, and submitted to her ordinances in all matters regarding faith, discipline, and morality.

Thomas Dean was the next prelate of Canterbury who received the pall from Rome. It was presented to him by the Bishop of Litchfield, who was commissioned by Alexander VI to perform this service. On the delivery of the badge of Archiepiscopal jurisdiction the following words were made use of: “To the honour of Almighty God and the blessed Virgin, and the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and our Lord Pope Alexander VI and the holy Roman Church, and also of the See of Canterbury committed to your charge, we give you the pall taken from the body of St. Peter (the sign of) the plenitude of the Archiepiscopal function, with the liberty of wearing it in your cathedral upon certain days named in the Apostolic bulls of privilege.”⁴ After this the archbishop took the oath to the Holy See, which we have already laid before our readers. During the short time that Dean was archbishop little occurs of any interest connected with the

Language
used on the
delivery of
the pall.

⁴ Godwin, de præs. Ang. p. 119.

Papal connexion with England.

Henry's letter to the Pope.

Warham archbishop.

His character.

English Church. All may be expressed in a few words. 1°. The Pope sent Pons to announce the jubilee.¹ 2°. He endeavoured to induce Henry to enter on the design of a holy war; and the details relative to this affair, which had been agreed upon by the Roman court and the ambassadors of several Christian powers, were mentioned by the Pontiff in his address to the English monarch. Henry wrote a long letter of excuse, but at the same time told his Holiness that there "was no prince on earth more inclined to show respect to the Pope, nor any one more forward to engage his force and fortunes in the holy war than himself."² Dean died on the 15th of February, 1502, the second year after his elevation, and was succeeded by the well known William Warham. He received the pall at Lambeth, and was enthroned at Canterbury with the greatest pomp on the 9th of March, 1504, the lordly Duke of Buckingham acting on the occasion as steward to the archbishop. Of Warham's ability, meekness, and amiability of character no one can doubt who has ever studied his general history or the more specific details communicated to us by one who had often experienced his kindness—I mean Erasmus of Rotterdam.³ Still we may doubt his aptitude for the Archiepiscopate at the critical period when he was called upon to discharge the important duties of that high office. He was a man of the Tenth Leo's character—mild and gentle—but powerless to struggle with enemies leagued against the Church. In peace he would have appropriately worn the olive crown, but the palm of victory was not fitted for his hands. To enter into the details of this

¹ Antiq. Brit. p. 302.

² Bacon, Henry VII, ad ann. 1500.

³ See many interesting facts in Butler's Erasmus, *passim*.

eventful period would be nearly useless, for every reader of history is acquainted with the doings of Henry VIII and of his cardinal, Cardinal Wolsey. Suffice it then to say, 1° that whilst Warham was archbishop Henry married Catherine by virtue of a dispensation procured from Rome; to this dispensation allusion has already been made: 2° Rome was asked—and to ensure success to this petition nearly the whole of Europe was agitated to join in the king's request—to dissolve this marriage, and sanction the union in the lifetime of Catherine, of Henry and Anne Boleyn: 3° between the Roman and English courts an unceasing correspondence and interchange of messengers was carried on, for days and weeks, and months and years, relative to this question of divorce; Wolsey was made *legate a latere*, though not archbishop of Canterbury, to please the love-sick king, and several cardinals were hurried to and fro to terminate if possible in a religious manner, an affair which eventually proved ruinous for ages to England's ancient faith—the faith of Britain, Saxon, Dane and Norman. 4°. So far from thinking at one time of denying the supremacy of Rome, or of separating from the Catholic Church, Henry actually wrote in the most nervous strain in defence of that supremacy against Luther, and by dedicating his work to Leo X, and receiving from him in return the title of "*Defender of the Faith*," testified his affection for the head of the Church and the faith of his forefathers. I will, for the information of the reader, transcribe a portion of Henry's work, in connexion with the Papal supremacy: from it the reader will gather not only the faith of the sovereign, but of this country and of the other portions of Christendom. He will further see that the doctrine was looked

Grants made
to England
early in the
16th cen-
tury.

Henry,
named by
Leo X,
Defender of
the Faith.

Henry's arguments in favour of the Papal supremacy, against Luther.

upon as most ancient, so ancient indeed that its origin could not be assigned to a period later than the Apostolic age. After exposing the changing opinions of Luther relative to the Papal supremacy, the royal author thus observes: "I will not wrong the Bishop of Rome so much as troublesomely or carefully to dispute his right, as if it were a matter doubtful; it is sufficient for my present task that the enemy is so much led by fury, that he destroys his own credit, and makes it clearly appear that by mere malice he is so blinded, that he neither sees nor knows what he says himself. For he cannot deny that all the faithful honour and acknowledge the holy Roman See for their mother and supreme, nor does distance of place or dangers in the way hinder access thereunto. For if those who come hither from the Indies tell us truth, the Indians themselves, separated from us by such a vast distance both of land and sea, do submit to the See of Rome: if the Bishop of Rome has got this great power neither by command of God nor the will of man, but by main force, I would fain know of Luther when the Pope rushed into the possession of so great riches; for so vast a power, especially if it began in the memory of man, cannot have an obscure origin. But perhaps he will say it is above one or two ages since; let him then point out the time by histories: otherwise if it be so ancient that the beginning of so great a thing is quite forgot, let him know that by all laws we are forbidden to think otherwise than that thing had a lawful beginning, which ascends so far beyond the memory of man, that its origin cannot be known. It is certain, that by the unanimous consent of all nations, it is forbidden to change or move the things which have been for a long time unmoved. Truly, if any will look upon ancient monu-

ments, or read the histories of former times, he may easily find that since the conversion of the world all Churches in the Christian world have been obedient to the See of Rome. We find that though the empire was translated to the Grecians, yet did they still own and obey the supremacy of the Church and See of Rome, except when they were in any troublesome schism.

“St. Jerome excellently well demonstrates his good esteem for the Roman See when he openly declares, though he himself was not a Roman, that it was sufficient for him that the Pope of Rome did approve his faith, whoever else did disapprove of it.

“When Luther so impudently asserts, and that against his former declaration, ‘that the Pope has no kind of right over the Catholic Church, no, not so much as human, but has by mere force tyrannically usurped it,’ I cannot but wonder that he should expect his readers should be so easily induced to believe his words, or so dull as to think that a priest, without any weapon or company to defend him (as doubtless he was, before he enjoyed that which Luther says he usurped), could ever expect or hope, without any right or title, to obtain so great a command over so many bishops, his fellows, in so many different and divers nations.

Luther
proved by
Henry to be
foolishly
opposed to
the Holy
See.

“How could he expect, I say, that anybody would believe (as I know not how he should desire they should) that all nations, cities, nay kingdoms and provinces, should be so prodigal of their rights and liberties as to acknowledge the superiority of a strange priest, to whom they should owe no subjection? But what matters it to know the opinion of Luther in this case, when, through anger and malice, he himself is ignorant of his own opinion, or

Luther
bound to
obey the
Holy See, for
three rea-
sons.

what he thinks : but he manifestly discovers the darkness of his understanding and knowledge, and the folly and blindness of his heart abandoned to a reprobate sense, in doing and saying things so inconsistent. How true is that saying of the Apostle, 'though I have prophesy and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge, and though I have all faith so as to remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing.' Of which charity Luther not only shows how devoid he is, by himself perishing through fury, but much more by endeavouring to draw all others with him unto destruction, whilst he strives to dissuade them from their obedience to the chief Bishop, whom in a threefold manner he himself is bound to obey, namely, as a Christian, as a priest, and as a religious brother ; his disobedience also deserving to be punished in a treble manner. He remembers not how much obedience is better than sacrifice ; nor does he consider how it is ordained in Deuteronomy, 'that the man who will act presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest, that stands to minister there before the Lord thy God, or unto the judge, even that man shall die.' He considers not, I say, what cruel punishment he deserves, who will not obey the chief Priest and supreme Judge upon earth. For this poor brother, being cited to appear before the Pope, with offers to pay his expenses and promise of safe conduct, he refuses to go without a guard ; troubling the whole Church as much as he could, and exciting the whole body to rebel against the head ; which to do is as the sin of witchcraft, and in which to acquiesce is as the sin of idolatry."¹ In

¹ Not having the Latin text, I have followed the version which is appended to the Dublin Ed. of Hornihold's work on the Commandments, &c.—See vol. ii, p. 242.

the prefatory letter addressed to “the most holy Father,” Henry expresses his love of his faith, and adds, “we have therefore entered on this work; dedicating to your Holiness what we have therein meditated, *that under your protection, who are Christ’s Vicar upon earth*, it may pass the public censure.” This letter thus concludes: “whether or no anything is effectually done in this, shall rest on your Holiness’ judgment; if we have erred in anything, we offer it be corrected as may please your Holiness.” *O! si sic semper!* The Pontiff, in a bull sent to his majesty, praises his faith and devotedness to the Holy See, and then thus addresses his dear son:—“Considering that it is but just that those who undertake pious labours in defence of the faith of Christ, should be extolled with all praise and honour; and being willing not only to magnify with deserved praise, and approve with our authority, what your majesty has with learning and eloquence written against Luther, but also to honour your majesty with such a title as shall give all Christians to understand, as well in our times as in succeeding ages, how acceptable and welcome your gift was to us, especially in this juncture of time; we the true successors of St. Peter (whom Christ before his ascension left as his Vicar upon earth, and to whom he committed the care of his flock), presiding in this Holy See, whence all dignities and titles have their origin, have with our brethren maturely deliberated on these things, and with one consent unanimously decreed to bestow on your majesty this title—**DEFENDER OF THE FAITH**. And as we have by this title honoured you, we likewise command all Christians that they name your majesty by this title, and that in their writings to your majesty, immediately after the word king, they add DE-

The bull of Leo, to Henry.

All persons ordered to give Henry his new title.

The title
confirmed
by Clement
VII.

Cranmer
takes the
usual oaths
of fidelity to
the Pope.

FENDER OF THE FAITH. Having thus weighed and diligently considered your singular merits, we could not have hit upon a more congruous or more fitting designation of your majesty, than is involved in this worthy and most excellent title, which as often as you hear or read, you shall remember your own merits and virtues: nor will you by this title exalt yourself or become proud, but according to your accustomed prudence rather become more humble in the faith of Christ, and more strong and constant in your devotion to this Holy See, by which you were exalted." This bull bears the date of the fifth of the Ides of October, 1521, the ninth year of Leo's Pontificate.¹ The title was confirmed to the king by a bull sent to him, 'sealed with gold,' by Clement VII.² 5°. Nay more: even when Warham died—he died in August, 1532, not two years before England was formally separated from the Holy See—the approbation of his successor Cranmer was procured from Rome; and no fewer than thirteen bulls connected with this appointment and the transmission of the pall, were sent from Rome to England. The new archbishop took too the usual oaths, notwithstanding the evasion of a previous protest (a protest as disgraceful under circumstances as the perjury is inexcusable), swearing allegiance to the Holy See, and submission to the mandates of the Pope. Such was the state of things in England till the 'defender of the faith,' the zealous 'child of Rome,' unable to gratify his passions in any other way, separated himself, and the kingdom of which he was the temporal sovereign, from the centre of unity, and made himself the head of the Church of England; raising up at the moment of his rebellion a golden statue, which all were

¹ Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII*, p. 96.

² *Idem*. p. 149.

to adore, and ordering all who disobeyed his mandates to be led either to the prison or to the scaffold, regardless of the sanctity of the episcopacy in the person of the venerable prelate who ruled the See of Rochester, and of the ties of friendship in the person of the wisest Chancellor whom England had ever possessed, the just and virtuous More. Even in the first hours of his schism and apostacy the king maintained the principle of obedience, and thus eventually stood more than ever self-condemned before a wondering world. On the 30th of March, 1534, England was no longer Catholic England: she was cut off from Catholic unity. Isolated, torn from the rest of Christendom, her's was a Church of a day's duration: an insular Church, a Church established by an act of parliament, the Church of one country. Unity, and holiness, and Catholicity, as well as Apostolicity of mission—all the marks of the true Church had left her; nor even after three hundred years of change and misery—for what more miserable than to see a fine country like this devoid of a principle of faith, and torn yearly more and more to pieces by every upstart who dares to palm upon the Almighty the follies and ignorance of a distracted and untutored mind—has England returned to the parent who brought Christianity into the land, who nursed her with such anxious care, and reared her up to such a state of excellence, as to become a noble member of the one Church of the Saviour.

England separated from the Holy See in 1534.

Effects and results of the separation.

The ancient religious system was now wholly changed in England; it was changed *in headship, in doctrine, in discipline*. Now the king was head,³ and he had assumed, as we have already shown at p. 107, all the rights which the Pontiff had ever claimed, and an extent of power

³ Stat. of Realm iii, 492.

A Layman
head of the
Church,

and Bishops
wholly de-
pendent on
him.

which no Pope could ever claim. The Church had become the slave of the State. Henry as absolutely ruled the bishops as his bailiffs; and altered the faith and discipline of the Church as arbitrarily as the arrangements of his own household. A layman was the *Pope's successor* in England, and another layman was this new Pope's vicar-general—Thomas Cromwell—who was invested “with full power to exercise and execute all and every that authority and jurisdiction appertaining to himself (the king) as head of the Church, and to appoint others his delegates and commissaries to execute the same under him; authorising them to visit all dioceses and churches—to summon before them all ecclesiastical persons, even bishops and archbishops—to inquire into their manners and lives—to punish with spiritual censures—to issue injunctions—and to exercise all the functions of the ecclesiastical courts.”¹ This man sat in the convocation as president, and subscribed before the archbishops.² The bishops even were of the king's making: they were made by him, and were as absolutely dependent on a monarch's will as was the lowest constable. “We *name, MAKE, CREATE,* constitute, and declare, N. bishop of N., to have and to hold to himself the said bishopric during the time of his natural life, if for so long a time he behave himself well therein; and *we empower him to confer orders,* to institute to livings, to exercise all manner of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to do all that appertains to the episcopal or pastoral office, over and above the things known to have been committed to him by God in the Scriptures, *in place of us, in our name, and by our royal authority.*”³

¹ Wilk. Conc. iii, 784.

² Strype's Mem. i, 245.

³ Wilkin's Conc. iv, pp. 10, 27, 28, 30.

As usual, heresy walked in the footsteps of schism: the rejection of the Pontiff was quickly followed by the rejection of the ancient faith and discipline. The mass was soon proclaimed to be idolatrous; altars were smashed to pieces, and tables substituted in their place; the service was no longer celebrated in the sweet language of Rome; but instead of the missal and ritual of Rome, was introduced the "*Book of Common Prayer*," the meaning of which is still an enigma, if recent statements are to be credited; holy images were pulled down; no saint of God was invoked; no chantry service offered up; no Saviour was adored in the holy Sacrament; no taper burned by day, by night, before the Holy of Holies; a minister appeared, indeed, in the desecrated temple, but as he entered it was plain that he was suspended, and that the land was under an interdict: he officiated, stripped of his robes, without lights, without incense, without sacrifice. The positive doctrines of Catholicity were sworn against; and the negative system of the 42 and 39 Articles—the system of protest, and denial, and disbelief—eventually became the rule of faith of Englishmen. Mass-priests and believers in the supremacy of the Pope were treated as traitors;⁴

Schism quickly followed by heresy.

Catholics proclaimed traitors, and why.

⁴ "Little reason is there, in truth, that Protestants should clamor so loud as they do, and cry out nothing but treason, treason, against religious and good men. They tell the world that no less than two hundred priests have been executed in England for treason since the Reformation, which is certainly a very heavy report, and sufficient to make them odious to all the world, if it were true; but they call that treason in England which in all parts of Christendom besides is both called and counted religion and the highest virtue. For we beseech them to tell us of what treason do they convict us at any time but the treason of being a priest, the treason to say mass, the treason to refuse the oath, the treason to absolve penitents confessing their sin, the treason to restore men to the communion of the Church, the treason to preach and administer Christ's sacraments, the

Profanation
of Holy
things.

No nation
sides with
or unites
itself to
England.

and the religious fraternities were banished from their holy abodes ; and these abodes were, notwithstanding their beauty and their strength, ruthlessly destroyed, or made the habitations of cattle, of the birds of air, and the reptiles which crawl about by day and night. Chalices were even turned into wassailing-bowls ; and the vestments of sacrifice were used by the new religionists as coverlets for beds, and other even more profane uses.¹ Catholicity—the religion of the Briton, Saxon, and Norman—had disappeared, and Protestantism had taken its place. Like a monster it stood *alone* : all the nations of the earth refused alliance with it : it stands alone now ; nor Lutheran nor Calvinist even consenting to an union with it. Notwithstanding the sameness of principle, the Protestants of Germany and Switzerland accuse England of misunderstanding the holy Scriptures, and of setting up a human for a divine religion. How long shall she stand alone ?—stand alone denying whatever she formerly believed, and ignoring that parent who led her from idolatry to the knowledge of the one God, and made her children happy and virtuous ; uttering words of hate against her mother, and persecuting those heaven-sent messengers who evangelize peace, evangelize good things, and who ask not for anything earthly for their labours, but only something

treason to be bred up in the seminaries, where only, as things now stand in England, they can be Catholically bred ? How strange that the laws of England should make a function, so ancient and honorable in England as the priesthood once was, to be treason ! which certainly is the same function now as it was then, when it was most honored ; and hath suffered no more change from what it first was than St. Paul's Church hath suffered change since the time it was first built by king Ethelbert ; that is, it is grown old indeed."—*Jerusalem and Babel*. p. 568.

¹ See Heylin, *passim*.

spiritual—the return of a lost child to a loving mother? Englishmen, you belong to the Catholic Church: *you have been her members*, all and each of you: you became her members when you became Christians by baptism: that baptism is hers: you only became Protestants when you deliberately approved of the revolt of Henry VIII and his followers—when you condemned the Church of all ages, and knowingly united yourselves to a Church of yesterday, which announced to the world, in justification of the introduction of the novelty, the following paradox: “*That all the world—men, women, and children—had for eight hundred years and more prior to the establishment of the English Reformation been plunged in damnable idolatry.*” It was found necessary to destroy the whole of Christendom prior to the creation of the new faith. Return to the Church; you will find her a mother—one, and holy, and Catholic, and Apostolical—such as a mother Church should ever be, but such as the Church in England is not now. Where is her unity? The Church is divided. High and low Church members mutually anathematize each other; they bandy at each other accusations of dishonesty and infidelity; and in their notions of religion, they verify the sarcastic observation of Münzer, “*THE BIBLE, BABEL.*” They cannot agree on the simplest questions relating to the vital doctrines of Baptism, the Eucharist, or the necessity of an apostolic and episcopally ordained ministry. As Wilberforce well observes, and this observation is based on personal knowledge, and may readily be tested any day, there are hardly two Protestant ministers in the land who would draw up the same profession of faith—hardly two of whom it would not be requisite to say, “*their testimony is not consentient.*” Articles are

England has
lost the
mark of
Unity.

Disbelief of
Anglicans in
their own
Articles.

subscribed and sworn to ; but these are not believed: they are articles of peace, not articles of faith; articles to restrain, not to bind the minister to the one form of revelation ; articles “ which, though containing many absurd, contradictory, and unintelligible propositions,”¹ may be taken in the gross, and rejected in detail, if some of the leading writers of the Protestant Church are as able exponents of the articles, as those others of that Church who are filled with indignation at the mere recital of such, to them, at least, unorthodox statements. After all the emendations of the 6, and 42, and 39 Articles, the only “ Credo” in which the Anglican Church does really believe, is that which the Catholic Church has handed down from generation to generation.

Even the
biblical
principle
superseded
by the Ar-
ticles.

Even the first principle of Protestantism, by virtue of which, as was thought, man could explore the realms of thought, earthly and heavenly—even the principle that the Bible was the only authoritative exponent of religion—and this principle was urged by the first reformers as their justification for rejecting the authority and teaching of the Church of the world—they appealed, they said, from man to God—even this principle was not enduring: it existed but for a few years, if even so long; and then was abandoned in favour of the articles or the imposers of the articles, for the expression has but one meaning. At the commencement of the seventeenth century the declaration of James I appeared, in which he says, “ We ratify and confirm (the Articles drawn up in 1562), requiring all our loving subjects to continue in the uniform profession thereof, and *prohibiting the LEAST difference from the said Articles*; which to that end we command to be now

¹ Such is Paley's statement.

printed, and this our declaration to be published therewith In both these curious and unhappy differences, which have for so many hundred years, in different times and places, exercised the Church of Christ, we will that all further curious search be laid aside, and these disputes shut up in God's promises, as they be generally set forth to us in the holy Scriptures, and the general meaning of the Articles of the Church of England according to them ; *and that no man hereafter shall either print or preach to draw the Article aside any way, but shall submit to it in the plain and full meaning thereof ;* and shall not put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the Article ; but shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense. . . . If any public reader in either Universities, or any head or master of a college, or any other person respectively in either of them, shall affix any new sense to any Article, or shall publicly read, determine, or hold any public disputation, or suffer any such to be held either way, in either the universities or colleges respectively ; or if any divine of the universities shall preach or print anything either way, other than is already established in convocation with our royal assent ; he or they the offenders shall be liable to our displeasure, and the Church's censure in our commission ecclesiastical as well as any other ; and we will see that there shall be due execution upon them." Thus, an admitted fallible body of exponents—a body which owed its existence to the principle that not only each individual member of the Church, but the whole Church *en masse*, was fallible, and *had* failed—took the place of a Church which claimed infallibility as its heavenly security and appanage : and notwithstanding its admitted fallibility, and the voice of the Catholic world that this body was apos-

Ordinance of
James I in
proof of this
position.

Practical
effects of
repudiating
the Articles.

tate, and unworthy of credence, and devoid of a legitimate power to teach at all, it legislated with as much absoluteness as if it was infallible, and under the immediate inspiration of God, and had not itself proved a rebel to all extrinsic authority, to all Church teaching! Well might the long-sighted De Maistre say that no body ever half so much stultified its own proceedings as did the body which published the 6th Article, and prefaced it by James' declaration! Liberty of religion! Liberty of appeal to the Bible!! the Bible the only rule of faith!!! Vah! these are sounds meant to lull babes, perhaps, to slumber, and to afford the thoughtless an unfounded security: they may serve to agitate a mob, and to draw forth the purses of pious ladies on certain periodical visitations; but to the scholar, to the man who will think, they will appear nothing more than "thin air,"—air which has been made the medium through which the public is permitted to see many a *Will o' the Whisp*—something glaring and deceiving, but nothing more. In vain shall the Anglican appeal from the Articles to the sacred Scriptures. If he differ from the Articles, whatever may be the amount of proof from Scripture or from history in favour of his own positions, his fate is sealed. He is condemned, deprived of his honors, deprived of his preferments, and even of the means of living. Surely I need not, after what has so lately taken place at Oxford and elsewhere, offer any proof of this position; or of this other, that a belief in the Articles is the test, the touch-stone of Protestant orthodoxy. Even the judges of our courts laugh at the very thought of appeals to the Scriptures in their courts. To admit such appeals, they say, would be to launch on the boundless sea of controversy, whence no one could be ex-

pected to return in safety ! Thus far have I extended my observations on the actual want of unity and want of principle in the Anglican establishment ; my notes on the other marks to which I have alluded will necessarily be less extended.

In reference to the actual state of *morality* in England—the word *sanctity* would be quite inappropriate—I would refer the reader to the charges of the Anglican prelates, or to the reports of parliamentary and judicial proceedings, or to the statistics of crime which are from time to time brought before the public. From these statements, we may readily infer that little improvement has taken place since the days of Latimer, who bitterly complained of, and severely lashed the increasing and gross crimes of his age ; and that, if the bishops complain of the heathenism of this period, and statesmen express their fears for society itself, these expressions are to be taken literally. They are neither rhetorical nor hyperbolic flourishes : they are words well-weighed. The masses are ignorant of the principles of religion and of morality ; they know not what self-restraint means ; they know not what even prayer and devotion are ; and so far from apprehending the beauty of the evangelical counsels, they laugh at their mention, and think that it is impossible even to keep the precepts of the Decalogue. Cheating and deceit, drunkenness and perjury, murder and infanticide, are the vices which help to fill up every week or day the provincial and metropolitan records of events ; and which give incessant occupation to a legion of clerks, magistrates, solicitors, lawyers, barristers, and judges.

The mark of sanctity is lost.

England grossly demoralized.

Canterbury's notions of *Apostolicity* are before the public ; and his ideas and sentiments are those of a large

The mark
too, of Apos-
tolicity has
disappeared.

party of the English clergy. But even if no living member of the Church had spoken, our notions of the want of Apostolical mission in the law-established Church would have been just what they are ; for history tells us, and this is otherwise evident, that the line of ministers commissioned legitimately to discharge the duties of religion ceased here in the sixteenth century, when Rome's authority was repudiated—that authority by virtue of which Fagan and Dervan, Augustine and Lawrence, and their successors in the ministry, had ever acted. In the sixteenth century, not a pope, not a bishop, not a cleric, but a layman, or laywoman, as the case may be, gave authority to archbishops and bishops, and the other officials, to preach and administer sacraments, and act *in their stead*. The minister of the altar was only the minister of the king—his agent, bailiff, substitute: he officiated because *the king* could not be everywhere present. “*Cœterum quia et singula hujus regni nostri loca pro præmissis exequendis nos ipsi personaliter obire non valemus, alios quorum vicaria fide freti munus hujusmodi veluti per ministros exequamur, qui, quum vices nostras in ea parte suppleant, in partem sollicitudinis adstitimus et vocamus.*” —Henry's words, apud Wilkins, iii, 784. The boy-king's words were equally absolute. “Authority of jurisdiction, *spiritual and temporal*, is derived and deducted from the king's majesty, *as supreme head of these Churches and realms of England and Ireland*, and so justly acknowledged by the clergy of the said realms, that all courts ecclesiastical within the said two realms be kept by no other power or authority, either foreign or within this realm, but by the authority of his most excellent majesty.”—1 Edward VI, c. 3. When Elizabeth came to the throne, “she

Whence
Anglican
jurisdiction
is derived.

united and annexed to the imperial crown of the realm all such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as had heretofore been used by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority.”

—1 Eliz. c. 1. And all ecclesiastics were forced to take the following oath: “that the Queen’s highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all *other* her highness’s dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm; and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdiction.” During every reign the subserviency and language of the ecclesiastics, as well as the absolute and peremptory mandates of the sovereigns, make it plain that the bishops were state bishops, and nothing more, holding their faculties and jurisdiction from the crown: but perhaps no document could make this clearer than one which appeared in the fifty-third year of George the Third, on occasion of sending out to India an Anglican bishop. This document—it was an Act of Parliament—says, “Provided always and be it enacted, that such bishop *shall not have or use any jurisdiction, or exercise any episcopal functions whatsoever*, either in the East Indies or elsewhere, but *only such jurisdiction and functions as shall or may, from time to time, be limited to him by his Majesty*, by letters patent under the great seal of the United Kingdom.”—53 Georg. III, c. 155, 53. What does all this prove? One position unquestionably: that the present possessors of English Sees and English cures derive their jurisdiction, not from the apostolic line of bishops or

Elizabeth’s
declaration.

The Parlia-
ment of
George III.

This system
of jurisdic-
tion derived
from kings,
novel and
heterodox.

pastors, who were to rule the Church, and teach all truth for ever; not from that holy and venerable Roman See, whence the light of truth has spread itself over the whole world, illumining first our British, and afterwards our Saxon forefathers, but from an earthly, a human, a lay source; from a king or queen invested with supreme jurisdiction by an English parliament. Of such a fountain of jurisdiction I nowhere read, either in the pages of revelation or of early history. I read of the apostolic line communicating its powers to others who were to bear the burthens of the ministry: I read of the apostolic Sees, and Sees founded by apostolic men, continuing the line of clergy and missionaries by means similar to those adopted by apostles: but of kings giving jurisdiction as the heads of Christ's Church—of ministers deriving their sacred powers from unconsecrated monarchs—of that I nowhere read. Nearly the whole of the Christian world scouts the idea: it scouts the idea of England's sovereign being in any sense the spiritual head of the whole or any portion of the Church; and it ignores the principle that a parliament has the right or power of ceding spiritual jurisdiction to the sovereign. Sad as was the origin of Protestantism, and sacrilegious as were the means made use of to raise up the new and destroy the old Church system, its history would not have been complete had not a lay Pope become its head, and prelates who had sworn allegiance to this spiritual lay head been made its overseers. This last act stamps indelibly on the whole system the image and superscription of Cæsar, instead of that of Jesus Christ. It forfeits for ever, even on its own showing, all claims to a divine system.

The Church, when it became the Church *of* England, lost the name of *Catholic*. It then became Protestant,—

it was the Reformation, the law Church, the Establishment, the Church of the Thirty-nine Articles, the Church of England, an insular Church; but it was not the Catholic Church, or any portion of it. The Church of the world, the Catholic Church ignored, anathematized the new Establishment, it would hold no communion with it. This stood isolated from the rest of Christianity, with which it had been previously in closest communion: its ministers met no longer in Council with the prelates of the rest of the world; they communicated not with them, they worshipped not with them; they were looked upon and called by all of the old creed the ministers of a new, and therefore false faith; they were Protestant, Anglican, Reformation ministers, but not one of the one hundred and fifty millions of Catholics would allow them for a moment a more noble title, or one less characteristic of heresy. "The name itself of Catholic is spurned at with indignation by the greater half *at least* of those who belong to the Church of England. . . The judgment of the whole indifferent world, the common sense of humanity, agrees with the judgment of the Church of Rome and with the sense of her one hundred and fifty million of children, to dispossess (Anglicanism) of this name. The Church of England who has denied her mother, is rightly without a sister. She has chosen to break the bonds of unity and obedience. Let her therefore stand alone before the judgment-seat of God and of man. Even the debased Russian Church, that Church where lay despotism has closed the priest's mouth, and turned him into a slave, disdains to recognise the Anglicans as Catholics: even the Eastern heretics, although so sweetly courted by Puseyite missionaries, sneer at this new and fictitious Catholicism." In these terms the illus-

The Anglican Church, in no sense Catholic.

Pertinent observations of C. de Montalembert.

trious Comte de Montalembert lashed the Camden Society for its abuse of the word Catholic, in his letter from Funchal, dated February 20, 1844. To add a word to this must appear superfluous.

England is
torn to
pieces by
Dissent.

There is not now even a Church of England. The nation has been divided into more than a hundred sects, all claiming the same principle of belief, 'the Bible and the Bible only,' and therefore all equally right and unamenable on Protestant principles to any extrinsic tribunal. It has been attenuated by the soul's hunger—the famine of the mind. Thousands dissatisfied with the food offered have cried out for other bread and for other ministers. They have been fed *with tracts and texts* till they have been sickened by them, and have recoiled with disgust from their loathsomeness. They have begun to blaspheme as they behold God's word made the basis and support of every dissentient creed and contradictory tenet: is God then, it is asked, a liar—does infinite truth speak contradictions, and infinite wisdom advocate every ebullition of folly? What shall remedy this misery; plant an Oasis in this wide desert of human error; stop the anathemas which each rising sect pronounces against the rest of Christendom; fill up the chasm which yawns between God and man, truth and error, certainty and doubt: what in fine shall link men together and make them one, one in faith and one in hope and one in love? One only can do all this; one who did it formerly; and this one is, the Church over which the Roman Pontiff presides, the Catholic Church. Those who took her place and spoke loud words of boasting, miserably failed in the fulfilment of their promises. They talked of a tower raised by their own hands which should reach even unto heaven, but it was never finished, and what was done turned out

Unity of
faith only
possible in
Catholicity.

to be a Babel—the tower of the curse, of dispersion and confusion of tongues—so great a confusion indeed that neighbour could not any longer understand his neighbour. Englishmen, you want a guide: you feel you do: you want more than texts, you need the expounder; and this you feel too. You want a heavenly commissioned teacher, one who cannot deceive you—one who can lead you with safety through hosts of dissentient and contradictory teachers—you want FAITH; not opinion, not suppositions, not systems, not theories, but FAITH; an unhesitating adherence to truth, because this truth is from God, and known to be from God on the authority of one who bears the marks of the divinity, and exhibits openly the heavenly credentials. But where shall you find this guide, this teacher, this exponent, this heaven-sent messenger? only in one place—in the Catholic Church; the Church of which the Bishop of Rome has always been the Spiritual Head. This Church claims, and she alone claims to be in reference to man, what you feel you require, an infallible, a heaven-sent guide; and therefore she alone deserves to be followed as the teacher of truth, as the authority which is to hand down the revelation of Jesus Christ, from generation to generation, even unto the end of time. All others boast of their fallibility, of *their being able* to deceive, to mislead, and lead astray; and what they claim, they do. Leave the fallible for the infallible; the human for the divine; those sent by kings or queens for those sent by heaven: leave Pharoe for Christ; you will gain by the exchange. Ages have passed away since within the catacombs the Christians exclaimed I believe in the Holy Catholic Church. The Church of the living God has pronounced sentence against the new religion: it is a

Catholicity
alone gives
faith.

All other
systems are
fallible and
lead astray.

There is no
appeal, after
the Church's
decisions.

sentence of condemnation. Submission has become a duty. What St. Austin said on hearing the decision of Rome in his days, should be said by every one now, in reference to the pretensions of Henry's religion, and of Anglicanism in all its variations—the ESTABLISHED religion; *Roma locuta est, causa finita est*. There can be no new hearing, no new

trial: *causa finita est*. If England is ever to be truly a member of the Christian Church, she must believe *all* that Rome teaches—*causa finita est*. May she at length cease to be isolated: may her religion be no longer a merely insular, national creed: and may she become again a worthy member of the Church of all nations, a dutiful child of the mistress of Christianity, Rome. Then shall days of piety recommence; and Englishmen, enamoured of this blessed See, shall exclaim, in language similar to

Language of
Bossuet.

that used by the illustrious Bossuet and de Maistre, “O Sainte Eglise Romaine, si je t’oublie, puisse-je m’oublier moi-même! que ma langue se sèche et demeure immobile dans ma bouche!” “O Sainte Eglise de Rome, tant que la parole me sera conservée, je l’emploierai pour te célébrer. Je te salue, mere immortelle de la science et de la sainteté. Salve magna parens.” You have seen clearly enough the divisions, the uncertainty, the want of faith, of Protestantism; you have seen that its principle of faith is a principle of division, separation, pride, and not a principle of unity; you see how the land is covered with ruins, and you know how the song of love and praise was hushed when the new system began; and further your laws tell you what murders were perpetrated on the plea of religion, ere the men who had cried out “*liberty of conscience*” could force and compel Englishmen to abandon the old and seemingly embrace the new religion:—

what sacrileges, what robberies, what alienations walked in the footsteps of Henry's and Elizabeth's faith are matters too of public notoriety. Such were not the evidences or the marks of the Church which Rome planted here, and preserved here so long. Catholicity was then one; her principles were as we have seen principles of unity; at her entrance temples and monasteries arose, and the land became vocal with the praises of Almighty God: men were converted not by the terrors of the sword or gibbet, but by the heaven-sent preacher: the missionaries taught, and God confirmed the word by the signs that followed. Men and women gave their gold and silver to the altar and temple and sacred objects of religion; and such was the conduct of our forefathers during the whole period of Catholicity—a period extending from the days of Lever Mawr, 179, to the middle of the reign of Henry VIII, 1534. Which system has the mark of God upon it? Be Christians *on principle*, and you will soon have the happiness, by God's grace, of being Catholics, men in communion with the See which blessed Peter established in Imperial Rome.

England
happy, when
Catholic
England.

If men are
consistent
Christians,
they will
become
Catholics.

FINIS.

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